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FEMCIT IP

Project no. 028746

WP 6

Working Paper No. 2

**Changing Cultural Discourses about Intimate Life:
The Demands and Actions of Women's Movements
and Other Movements for Gender and Sexual
Equality and Change**

March 2010

Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe:
The Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements
FEMCIT

WORK PACKAGE 6 – INTIMATE CITIZENSHIP

REPORT ON

**CHANGING CULTURAL DISCOURSES ABOUT INTIMATE LIFE:
THE DEMANDS AND ACTIONS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND
OTHER MOVEMENTS FOR GENDER AND SEXUAL EQUALITY AND
CHANGE**

(2009)

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Introduction

Sasha Roseneil

The FEMCIT Project

The FEMCIT project aims to provide a new critical, multi-dimensional understanding of contemporary gendered citizenship in the context of a multicultural and changing Europe, and to evaluate the impact of contemporary women's movements on gendered citizenship. Our research focuses on six dimensions of citizenship: political, social, economic, ethnic/religious, bodily/sexual, and intimate citizenship.

Amongst the specific scientific objectives of FEMCIT to which this report contributes are:

- To investigate how different and changing notions and practices of citizenship have been articulated by the contemporary women's movement in various contexts
- To evaluate the impact of the European feminist women's movements on citizenship discourses and practices since the 1960s
- To undertake cross-national and comparative studies, as well as a compilation of national case studies, to explore the multi-dimensional features of gendered political, social and cultural citizenship in Europe, and to analyze the multiple forms of women's movement activism.

The scientific work of FEMCIT is delivered through work packages which address the six different dimensions of citizenship.

This report has been produced by Work Package 6 of FEMCIT, which focuses on *Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, cultural diversity, personal lives and policy*.

The Concept of Intimate Citizenship

We are using the concept of "intimate citizenship" normatively to refer to "the freedom and ability to construct and live selfhood and close relationships safely, securely and according to

personal choice, in their dynamic, changing forms, with respect, recognition and support from state and civil society” (Roseneil, 2008). Intimate citizenship involves rights, responsibilities and capacities – so we are interested in both the rights and responsibilities of intimate partners/parties, and the (relational-)autonomy of intimate subjects.

For the purposes of this research, we define *intimate/ personal life* primarily in terms of close relationships between adults, both sexual and non-sexual, and the relationship that an individual has with her/himself. We are also concerned, although less centrally, with parent-child relationships (Roseneil, 2008).

The project’s conceptualization of intimate citizenship draws particularly on the work of Ken Plummer (1995; 2001; 2003), who suggests that the concept is “wider and more inclusive” (Plummer, 2003:65) than that of sexual citizenship (as developed, for instance, by Evans, 1993; Weeks, 1998; Bell and Binnie, 2000; Richardson, 2000). According to Plummer, the “intimate citizenship project” looks at “the decisions people have to make over the control (or not) over one’s body, feelings, relationships; access (or not) to representations, relationships, public spaces, etc; and socially grounded choices (or not) about identities, gender experience; erotic experiences” (1995:151).

The Focus of WP6

The focus of WP6 is on transformations in intimate citizenship across Europe in the context of increasing cultural diversity. Social theorists argue that we are living through a period of intense and profound social change in the sphere of intimacy, and identify the post 1960s women’s movement as a key driver of this change (Castells, 1997; Giddens, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, Weeks, 2007). Processes of individualization and de-traditionalization, and increased self-reflexivity, fundamentally linked to feminist political projects, are seen as opening up new possibilities and expectations in personal relationships, and as radically transforming gender relations and family life.

Over the past thirty years, across European populations as a whole, more and more people are spending longer periods of their lives outside the heterosexual, co-resident nuclear family unit (which became the dominant model during the twentieth century), as a result of the dramatic rise

in divorce rates, the increase in the number of births outside marriage, the rise in the proportion of children being brought up by a lone parent, the growing proportion of households that are composed of one person, and the climbing proportion of women who are not having children (Roseneil and Budgeon, 2004). The change in the pace of migrations in Europe, which is producing increasing cultural diversity, is also challenging the hegemony of the modern western European nuclear family, as different models of intimate and family life prevail in different ethnic groups (e.g. Reynolds, 200; Mand, 2006a and b). As a result of all of these changes, the heterosexual couple, and particularly the married, co-resident heterosexual couple with children, no longer occupies the centre-ground of European society, and cannot be taken for granted as its basic unit (Roseneil, 2000, 2002). The male-breadwinner/ female-homemaker model on which post second war citizenship was based is, therefore, no longer applicable (Roseneil and Budgeon, 2004; Roseneil, 2006), and new conceptualizations of “intimate citizenship” (Plummer, 1995; 2001; 2003) and new welfare settlements are being constructed to respond to the increasing diversity and non-conventionality of the intimate lives of European citizens (see Roseneil, Crowhurst, Hellesund, Santos and Stoilova, 2008). These transformations have major implications for the EU in relation to future welfare policies, the legal regulation of personal life, “care regimes” and the labour market.

Whilst theorists have linked the transformation of intimate life to the impact of women’s movements, there is very little empirical research which systematically examines the lived experience of intimacy in the wake of the cultural gender revolutions unleashed by second wave feminism.¹ In particular, there is no comparative research which focuses on differences and similarities between European nation-states in this regard. It is clear from existing census and survey data that changes in the organization of personal life are not uniform across Europe, and are inflected by national and regional cultures, and vary between religious, ethnic and “lifestyle” groups. The specificity of experiences of those from minority cultural and religious backgrounds have not been subjected to systematic investigation.

Moreover, the significant historical agency and impact granted to women’s movements and feminists by Giddens, Castells, and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (something which feminist

¹ One project which does this is the UK based ESRC Research Group for the Study of Care, Values and the Future of Welfare (www.leeds.ac.uk/cava). Roseneil was one of the grantholders of this project.

theorists concerned with the constitution and continuities of gender oppression and difference have been less ready to do (Roseneil, 1995)), have been asserted and assumed; the processes by which this impact might have taken place have not been explicitly investigated. In addition, the north-western European/ north American assumptions that undergird these arguments about the influence of ‘second wave feminism’ should be interrogated. Women’s movements and feminism have taken quite different form, across the east-west, communist-capitalist, north-south, democratic-fascist, secular-religious divisions which have characterized European nation-states and structured the map of the continent (Kaplan, 1992; Jenson, 1995; Matynia, 1995; Griffin and Braidotti, 2002; Gerhard, 2002; Christensen, Halsaa and Saarinen, 2004). The histories and nature of the claims and demands of women’s movements in different national contexts need to be grasped, in order for their relationship to changing modes of legal, policy and social regulation of intimate life to be assessed, and for their cultural impact on the everyday lived realities of intimate life to be traced.

Objectives of WP6

1. To investigate across four contrasting European nation-states the experiences of transformation in intimate life of those most distanced from the male-breadwinner model i.e. those living outside conventional families
2. To analyze the relationship between the transformation of intimate life and the demands and actions of movements for gender and sexual equality and change;
3. To examine cultural diversity in relation to the transformation of intimate life, with reference to religion, “race”/ ethnicity, lifestyle, sexuality, nation and region
4. To analyze the historical, cultural and policy background of transformations in intimate life in four contrasting European nation-states
5. To develop an analysis of the implications of these transformations for social policy in the EU, with recommendations for policy makers and legislators

Research Design and Methods

The project has a multi-disciplinary three-stranded approach to the understanding of the transformation of intimate citizenship, focusing on its cultural, policy and socio-biographical dimensions, and encompassing both a “top down” and a “bottom up” approach to social change. Each strand of the research is being conducted according to the same methodology in each of the four national contexts:

Strand 1: Changing cultural discourses about intimate life (objectives 2, 3)

An historical survey of women’s movement demands and actions in relation to intimate life, and of other social movements’ and NGOs’ demands, actions and responses (e.g. black/ minority ethnic/ anti-racist, men’s, disability, lesbian and gay, pro-family), to map the main shifts in discourses about intimate life

Strand 2: Policy contexts and responses to changes in intimate life (objective 5)

1. A comparative policy analysis of how national social policies are being re-framed (or not) in response to changes in intimate life (towards objective 4)
2. European and national level policy recommendations on the basis of the findings of Strand 3 below

Strand 3: Intimate lives at the cutting edge of change (objectives 1, 2 and 3)

A qualitative study of intimate life using the biographical-narrative interview method, and focusing on those whose lives might be expected to have been most affected by the cultural shifts set in train by the women’s movement - those living outside conventional familial relations. The sample includes men and women, all of whom are one or more of the following: un-partnered (single); in a non-cohabiting relationship (“living apart together”); lesbian or gay; living in shared/ communal housing. Ethnic diversity within the sample will be ensured – at least half of interviewees will be from minority ethnic communities. 16 interviews are being carried out in each country.

National Research Sites

The research is being conducted out in four contrasting national contexts which differ in terms of contemporary and historical welfare and gender regimes, state/ market relationship, dominant and minority religions and ethnic groups and patterns of im/migration. The four chosen national contexts are Bulgaria, Norway, Portugal and the UK. This provides a former state socialist country, a Nordic “woman-friendly” (Hernes, 1987) welfare state, a southern European country, which has relatively recently transitioned from dictatorship to democracy, and a north-western European liberal democratic welfare state.

The Report

Changing Cultural Discourses about Intimate Life: the demands and actions of women’s movements and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change

This report is the first output from Strand 1 of WP6. It provides an historical survey of women’s movement demands and actions in relation to intimate life, and of other social movements’ and NGOs’ demands, actions and responses (e.g. black/ minority ethnic/ anti-racist, men’s, disability, lesbian and gay, pro-family). As such it contributes towards the mapping of the main shifts in cultural discourses about intimate life over the past forty years, and the exploration of the role of women’s movements in these shifts. Specifically it contributes to Objective 2 of the WP6 objectives by providing material with which we will be able to develop an analysis of the relationship between the transformation of intimate life and the demands and actions of movements for gender and sexual equality and change. It also addresses Objective 4, offering an analysis of the historical and cultural background of transformations in intimate life in four contrasting European nation-states. These objectives will be further addressed in forthcoming publications.

The report explores the demands and actions in relation to intimate life of women’s movements and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change across the four chosen case study countries. We have defined the period under study as from 1968 to 2008, in accordance

with FEMCIT's focus on "contemporary women's movements". However, we also provide a brief discussion of women's movements in each country prior to this, as contextual background, and we offer a timeline of key events and moments in women's movement history for each country.

The following questions guided the research for the report:

- Which issues of intimate life/ intimate citizenship became important to the movement concerned, and when? How have issues waxed and waned in the movement?
- Which issues of intimate life/ intimate citizenship were taken up by which groups/ organizations?
- To what extent was "the women's movement" united or divided on particular issues of intimate life/ intimate citizenship? Were these issues contested and debated within the movement?
- How were the issues formulated by the women's movement? – what sort of language/ discourse was used – of citizenship, rights, freedom, choice, liberty, liberation, equality, recognition, respect, difference etc etc?
- What demands were made by the women's movement?
- Who was addressed by the women's movement - government, and/ or society/ men etc?
- What actions did the women's movement take around these issues (methods of campaigning)?
- Did these issues become the subject of wider public debate (in the media, politics, culture – theatre, art etc)?
- What claims and demands have been made around intimate life/ citizenship by groups/ organizations, claims of our chosen minoritized groups, both women's groups and mixed groups?

Sources

The report draws on a wide range of source materials, including scholarly texts by sociologists and historians, and where there was a lack of secondary literature, primary archival sources, including women's movement publications (magazines, newsletters), websites and online

resources. For all four countries, internet sources have been particularly important for research on recent women's movement actions and demands.

A particular issue faced in this historical work has been the difference in available secondary literatures across the four countries. For the UK there is a relative abundance of historical and sociological research on women's movements and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change, although there is no work that addresses our concerns directly. The UK research has, therefore, relied primarily (although not exclusively) on secondary sources. For Norway, there is considerably less secondary source material, so considerable reliance has been placed on primary sources. For Portugal and Bulgaria there is almost no secondary literature, so there has been even greater reliance on primary sources.

Issues in Researching Women's Movements Cross-Nationally

In researching 'women's movements' across the four countries we have had to grapple with the fundamental definitional issue of what we mean by 'women's movement', in terms of temporality, character/ ideology, strength, extensiveness and visibility, and scope.

Temporality

FEMCIT has defined its remit as being with 'contemporary women's movements' and we chose to specify our timeframe as being from 1968-2008. Taking 1968 as our starting point recognizes the momentousness and symbolic importance of this date in global social movement history; but, in seeking to carry out a properly cross-national project, we have constantly put this date in question. We have found, not surprisingly, that whilst marking a key moment in the history of the women's movement in the UK, the beginnings of the 'contemporary women's movement' are better traced to the early 1970s in Norway, the mid 1970s in Portugal², and the end of the 1980s in Bulgaria. And, of course, the histories of women's movements' engagement with intimate citizenship issues stretch back long before this, to earlier moments and 'waves' of activism and thought.

² Although in 1968, after the Portuguese dictator Salazar's resignation, the Women's Democratic Movement (Movimento Democrático das Mulheres) was formed by communist women, which 'burst into considerable activity after 1974' [the date of the Portuguese revolution] (Kaplan, 1992:189).

Character and ideology

Then there is the question of the character and ideology of ‘women’s movements’ - the issue of how we draw the boundaries of ‘women’s movements’. We had to decide whether the term was to be used to refer to any mobilization of women, feminist or not, or whether it should be more limited, for instance to autonomous, self-directed mobilizations with a feminist hue. After much discussion of the concept in relation to each of our four countries, we decided pragmatically that, in our research, ‘women’s movement’ would be a relatively open term that we would use to encompass mobilizations by women concerned with gender and/ or sexual equality and change. We would not require such mobilizations to explicitly identify themselves as feminist, but our definition is not so broad as to include ‘pro-family’ and conservative women’s organizations. However, we also decided that such mobilizations must be characterized by a considerable degree of autonomy and self-directedness.

Specifically, in the case of Bulgaria we have decided to refer to ‘organized women’ and ‘women’s organizations’ during the period of socialism, rather than to a ‘women’s movement’, in order to recognize the lack of autonomy and self-directedness that characterized women’s collective action and public voice in this era, when the Communist Party maintained a strong hold over ‘organized women’. A related decision was also made to undertake a small scale study of the archive of the women’s magazine “Today’s Woman”, between 1965 and 1995, as it was one of the few vehicles for the public expression of “women’s voice” during this period; this is included as an appendix to the Bulgaria section of the report.

Strength, extensiveness and visibility

There is also a question about how strong, extensive and visible mobilization must be to constitute a ‘women’s movement’, and whether a movement must be primarily ‘grass-roots’, or whether it can be comprised largely of NGOs, funded by local, national or transnational bodies. In the UK, for instance, there has been a lively debate amongst social movement and feminist scholars about whether a women’s movement has existed for at least the past decade, during which time there has been little grass-roots activism but considerable engagement with the policy process and service delivery by women’s NGOs and pressure groups. Much of the grass-roots activism that has existed in the UK since the late 1990s has been virtual, taking place on the web,

rather than in co-present, ‘real’ time and space, which poses a question about how strength and ‘visibility’ might be assessed in ‘network society’ (Castells, 1996). It is also important to consider the extent to which a real or virtual women’s/ feminist public sphere is created by a women’s movement in which feminist issues are legitimate topics of debate. These issues will be explored further in future publications from Strand 1.

Scope

Finally, there are questions about scope. How diverse does the range of issues addressed have to be for a conglomeration of mobilizations to constitute a women’s movement? What is the possible range of interests represented, and audiences addressed, by a women’s movement? What language is best used to describe the range of forms of expressions of women’s movements at different times and in different places: expressions of interest, claims, demands, practices, articulations, declarations etc – and when does an ‘expression of interest’, for instance, become a ‘claim’ or a ‘demand’? We have not adjudicated on these questions as yet; we will continue to grapple with them in future work on Strand 1.

Dimensions and Issues of Intimate Citizenship Claim-Making and Intervention

We have identified four main dimensions of political claim-making and intervention by women’s movements in the domain of intimate life and intimate citizenship: partnership; reproductive rights and parenting; sexuality: identities and practices; and gender and sexual violence. For each we explore the timing, relevance, prevalence, and framing of the issues under each heading.

Partnership

Marriage

Divorce

Non-marital heterosexual relationships - cohabitation

Same-sex relationship/ partnership recognition

Selfhood, financial autonomy, independence within relationships

Immigration and partnership, family reunion etc

Non-monogamy/ polyamory

Single people and solo living

‘Care’ and partnership

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Contraception

Abortion

Assisted conception/ reproductive technologies

Motherhood, fatherhood, parenting

Adoption rights

Lesbians and reproduction and parenting

‘Care’ and parenting

Sexuality: identities and practices

Women’s sexual pleasure

The regulation of sexual practice

Lesbianism, lesbian rights and recognition

Homosexuality and anti-discrimination

Pornography³

Prostitution

Sado-masochism

Sex education

Gender and Sexual Violence

Domestic/ intimate partner violence

Rape and sexual assault

Incest/ child sexual abuse

Pornography

Prostitution

Trafficking

Homophobic and trans-phobic violence

³ Issues listed under two headings (e.g. pornography, prostitution) have been framed in different ways within the movement, with the framing a contested issue.

Authorship of the Report

The work package leader and principal investigator of WP6 is Sasha Roseneil, who also authored the Introduction. The country reports were researched as follows: Bulgaria – Mariya Stoilova; Portugal – Ana Cristina Santos; Norway – Tone Hellesund; United Kingdom – Isabel Crowhurst.

Bulgaria

Mariya Stoilova

Part I - The Women's Movement in Bulgaria

This paper offers a historical review of the demands and actions of the Bulgarian women's movement, and other social movements for gender and sexual equality and change, mapping the main shifts in discourses about intimate life in the country. The text starts with a brief history of the beginning of the women's movement in Bulgaria and continues with a detailed study of the intimate citizenship claims, demands and responses of the women's movement since the late 1960s. The paper offers a discussion of four dimensions of intimate citizenship: partnership; reproductive rights and parenting; sexuality, identities and practices; and gender and sexual violence. These themes are explored through the actions of organised women during socialism and through the demands and campaigns of women's NGOs after 1989. After this the paper looks at the intimate citizenship claims and demands of organisations of and for Roma and Turkish Women in Bulgaria, and of pro-family and LGBT organisations. In this way the paper explores the various ways in which discourses about intimate life in Bulgaria have shifted during the past forty years.

1.1 Bulgarian Women's Movement – the Beginning

The birth of Bulgarian feminism was in the 19th century when Bulgaria was under Turkish Dependence, as the Bulgarian historian and feminist Krassimira Daskalova (2005) suggests. The initial attempts were within the so-called 'literary feminism' where mostly male but also a few female intellectuals wrote in support of women's education. These demands were accompanied by traditional patriarchal arguments for improvement of women's abilities as mothers and housewives, as well as being 'useful and pleasant companions of their husbands' (Daskalova, 2005: 305, my translation). Another contribution of women's education was seen to be in the mobilisation of women within the national liberation movement and their ability to educate future Bulgarian citizens.

The main area of women's activism from the mid-19th up to the mid 20th century was charity (Popova, 2002), usually the support of children and old people. Women's organisations and unions from that period were also involved in organising lectures, writing articles on feminist subjects, and opening libraries for women. Such organisations were mostly an urban phenomenon and their leaders were predominantly from middle class background (Daskalova, 2005). There were also organisations of immigrant Bulgarian women.

The activities and discussions of women did not take the shape of demands until Bulgaria became independent. The earliest demands were for the education of women, especially equal access for women into high schools and university (Daskalova, 2005: 309). As a result from these demands high school education was equalised for boys and girls in 1897 and women were allowed to audit University lectures for the first time in 1901 (Daskalova, 2005; Zhivkov, 2006).

The first national woman's organisation was the Bulgarian Women's Union established in 1901. Initially it followed the pre-liberation orientation towards charity and education but later started promulgating equal civil and political rights for women (Daskalova, 2005). The organisation mostly represented the interests of middle class women but at times attention was paid to problems of women from lower classes such as workers, peasants, and servants (Daskalova, 2005: 311).

A few years later the Socialist Wing left the Women's Union and afterwards formed a separate organisation – Socialist Women's Union (1914) (Zhivkov, 2006), which had class orientation. It remained in close relationship with the Socialist Party because both were convinced that socialism would solve the 'woman's question' (Zhivkov, 2006: 93). A separate organisation of women with a university education was formed in 1924, the Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education, which worked to develop opportunities for women professionals – lawyers, doctors, artists, teachers and writers (Daskalova, 2005: 311).

An organisation fighting for women's voting rights was created in 1909 called Union 'Equality', which together with the Women's Union represented the Bulgarian suffragette movement (Daskalova, 2005: 313). Officially, women were not among the social groups who were deprived of voting rights according to the Bulgarian Tarnovo Constitution (1878). These groups were: nomad gypsies; non-Christian gypsies; beggars; brothel owners; persons with a judicial ban on

their rights; convicted people; and people working abroad without permission (Zhivkov, 2006). In practice, however, women were not allowed to vote. Union 'Equality' sent several petitions to Parliament demanding voting rights for women in 1909. In 1911 an activist demanded to be included in the election lists but her request was overruled by the court (Zhivkov, 2006). The Women's Union had a less radical approach and focused on the participation of women in local government (Zhivkov, 2006). Married women with children were the first to receive voting rights in 1937, but only for local elections. In the following year, all married, divorced or widowed women above 21 were enfranchised but still no women could be elected (Daskalova, 2005: 318).

The Women's Social Democratic Union was established in 1921 and its goal was the protection of the civil and political rights of working women. The Union also wanted to study the living conditions of women and children, and demanded equal pay for women and men, state measures for improvement of health and hygiene, social support for poor and for unemployed, good education for all Bulgarians, protection of children and a ban on prostitution (Daskalova, 2005: 315-316). This is probably one of the first occasions when the Bulgarian women's movement engaged with intimate citizenship issues.

The main characteristics of the Bulgarian women's movement until 1944, according to Daskalova (2005; 2002), were its focus on the exclusion of women from prestigious social spheres and its urban and mostly bourgeois character. The demands the movement made were for access to education and to some of the prestigious professions such as law, medicine, art and architecture; voting rights for women; equal pay; political representation of women and access to higher positions of power; equality in marriage in terms of the free right to end marriage on will, not to adopt the nationality of their husbands, and change of the tradition of surname after marriage; ban of prostitution and sexual exploitation; protection of children and minorities; and reforms providing for the equality of children born within and without marriage (Daskalova, 2005: 318-323, 325). These are other examples of intimate citizenship issues raised early on in the women's movement in Bulgaria. The feminist organisations from this period were also active on the international scene as members of international feminist organisations.

1.2. Organised Women during Socialism

The woman 'is part of socialism, socialism is in her and she is in socialism' (Committee of Bulgarian Women, 1989a: 9, my translation)

1.2.1. Transformations of the Bulgarian Women's Movement during the First Years of Socialism (1944 – 1950)

The women's movement underwent significant transformations after the communists came into power. The Union of Bulgarian Women that existed prior to 1944 fell under the attack of the socialists, who saw it as a 'union of bourgeois women' (State Archive, 1950). According to the documents from the Archive of the Bulgarian Public's Women's Union:

The doors of this Union [of Bulgarian Women] remained closed for ordinary women. Its activities comprised only of the organisation of tea parties and small charitable acts to fill the long spare time of bourgeois women. In recent years the same [Union] was in service of the fascist power (State Archive, 1950: 1, my translation).

The 'bourgeois' Union was transformed into the Bulgarian Public's Women's Union (BPWU) that was believed to represent women from all social strata. The women's organisations that still existed at that time, such as 'Mother Care' (Майчина грижа), 'Bulgarian Home' (Български дом), 'Widow' (Вдовица), 'Union of People with Many Children' (Съюз на многодетните), and 'Union of Women with University Education' (Съюз на жените с висше образование) became part of the new Union (State Archive, Fund 7, Opis 1). The organisation soon started the 're-making' of the cultural, political and civil education of Bulgarian women, transforming them into 'the new socialist woman' that can have 'active role in the building of the country' (State Archive, 1950: 1-2, my translation).

There was a significant transformation in the nature, strategy, and functioning of the organised Bulgarian women – from making demands on behalf of women, the activities shifted towards acting on benefit of the whole nation, and to fulfilling demands that were made by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The various women's organisations that existed prior to 1944 representing the interest of different groups of women were unified and gradually dissolved in one organisation

representing the rights of every woman, or the 'new socialist woman'. In this context speaking about the 'women's movement' and the 'demands of the women's movement' acquires a different meaning and one can even argue that these are not the most adequate terms to represent the organised Bulgarian women during the socialist period. I would suggest 'organised women' as a better term, replacing 'movement'.

BPWU, in the first years of its existence, was involved in the campaign 'All to the front' and women made clothing that was sent to the Bulgarian soldiers taking part in the Second World War. They also sent them letters, took care of wounded soldiers in hospitals and supported families that had sent people to the front (State Archive, 1950). The Union took part in sowing and crop gathering campaigns, thus creating 'links between the town and the village' (State Archive, 1950, my translation), as well as in forestation and cleaning actions, digging of canals, building and furnishing of Birth Centres and Child Care Institutions. BPWU also carried out cultural and educational activities, including women's choirs and publishing the magazine 'The Woman Today', and the newspaper 'Bulgarian People's Women's Voice' that were aimed at re-educating and organising Bulgarian women (State Archive, 1950). The Union was involved in the political agitation during the monarchy referendum, and in 'educating' women from the Turkish minoritised group by encouraging them to remove their veils and to start working. On the international arena BPWU was actively involved in the international peace movement (State Archive, 1950).

The overall political development of the country influenced organised women significantly. A new Constitution was adopted on the 4th of December 1947 limiting the civil rights and personal freedoms so that they could not be used against the state and the public order (Delev et al., 2006). The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party (December 1948) adopted the policy of the so-called 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (диктатура на пролетарята) which required heavy centralisation of political decisions and civil activities in the hands of the party elite. The Bulgarian Communist Party took measures to 'create solidarity among the people's masses' (State Archive, 1950). Under the initiative of the Head of the Fatherland Front (Отечествен Фронт, ОФ), which was the sole mass civil-political organisation (Delev et al., 2006), Tsola Dragojcheva and the Chairman of the Communist Party, Georgi Dimitrov, all women's organisations became part of the Fatherland Front and fell under the strict control of the state (BAUW, 2008). The 'decision'

for this was made during the national conference of Bulgarian Public's Women's Union in September 1950 (State Archive, 1950) with the argument that there is no need of an independent women's movement.

In practice, this was the end of any independence of the women's movement and the final step towards its mobilisation for the purposes of the nation state. The remains of all women's organisations were transformed into a Women's Department (Женотдел) at the Fatherland Front and a Committee of the Democratic Bulgarian Women (Комитет на демократичните български жени) was created (December, 1950) representing women's interests (State Archive, 1950). Within the next few months the leaders of all women's organisations had to be replaced by party activists (BAUW, 2008). The meetings of women's organisations 'turned into propaganda lectures', closely observed by agents from the Political Police who created dossiers with 'compromising facts' about past activity, marital status and family, health, beliefs etc. about most of the active members' (NAUW, 2008: 1, my translation). The property and documents of the women's organisations were confiscated and they were closed down (BAUW, 2008).

Gradually the involvement of women in the organisation decreased mostly because of its propagandistic character (BAUW, 2008). The same can be argued about the Fatherland Front, part of which was the women's organisation, which was in practice the socialist structure that resembled remotely some form of civil society movement. The Fatherland Front was never influential, except for the first years of the socialist regime, and although it was still proactive in the 1960s and 1970s, 'only few participated in Fatherland Front activities voluntarily' according to Brunnbauer (2008: 72). Its popularity was decreasing in the 1970s, but most significantly in the 1980s, with the ever increasing dissatisfaction with the regime. Even though Brunnbauer (2008) does not discuss in particular the involvement in the Women's Committee, which was part of the Fatherland Front, it is likely that the public participation of women followed the overall trends.

All activism during socialism had to be a 'true and all-embracing representation of local life', and to encourage competitiveness, 'to fight bravely against bureaucracy and laziness, against extravagance and negligence', and most importantly, activism had 'to mark the creation of the new person' (Deyanova, 2004: no page, my translation). Therefore organised 'activism' in general, and organised women in particular, had some very specific 'building' tasks – starting

from building plants, roads, and parks to ‘building’ the new socialist morality and communist society. All this required public enthusiasm and ‘almost military discipline’ (Deyanova, 2004: no page, my translation). The role of organised women, or at least how it was evaluated at the time, is described by the Head of the Fatherland Front Tsola Dragojcheva: ‘among the women from the USSR and Yugoslavia, Bulgarian women occupy the first place in the fight for socialism’ (quote after Deyanova, 2004: no page, my translation). This symptomatic expression is also an example how the women’s ‘activism’ was spoken of and expressed itself. There was a missing discourse of rights, choice, recognition, and liberty but heavy use of ‘revolutionary’ vocabulary, such as mobilisation, fight, agitation, campaign, activation (Deyanova, 2004). The so-called ‘socialist realism’ was not relevant only for political and civil activism, but also for art, literature, architecture, and so on (Konstantinova, 2004; Yanev, 2004; Popova, 2004b).

1.2.2. Towards ‘More Active Inclusion of Women in the Building of Socialist Society’ – Organised Bulgarian Women in the mid 1960s and the 1970s

As it was already mentioned, the organised Bulgarian women were involved in creating the ‘new person’, which also involved creating a new ethics of intimate citizenship. This happened through a patronising and moralising discourse intervening into the intimate personal world. Organised women took onboard issues such as partnership, childbearing, and care and created around them a discourse of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ based on its task of ‘upgrading’ the morality of Bulgarian women in line with ‘proper’ socialist values. As a result the body was considered not individual but public property (Popova, 2004a) and all practices related to the body, including sexuality, reproduction, and beauty were politicised and regulated.

This moralising discourse about intimate citizenship in fact de-privatised intimacy through ‘preaching’ intervention in intimate practices. A good example of how this has happening is the so-called ‘Comrade Courts’ (Popova, 2004a; Brunnbauer, 2008). These started existing in 1961 and were meetings of local activists and members of the community to discuss intimate issues, for instance unfaithfulness, domestic violence, and alcoholism, which were presented in front of the Comrade Court by the victim. These courts had counselling purposes, but in practice they also gave ‘opportunity for legal access to the intimate life of spouses’ and had the power to decide such private matters as the breakdown of family relations (Popova, 2004a: no page, my

translation). The communist activists made significant efforts to render everyday life socialist (Brunnbauer, 2008: 46) and the state intervened in the intimate sphere by regulating sexuality and directing reproductive behaviour (Kasabova, 2004 cited in Brunnbauer, 2008).

An important event for organised women was the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (ЦК на БКП) held in 1968 where the party leaders decided that women needed to be encouraged to take more active role in achieving socialist targets (Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (CC of BCP), 1968). Therefore, the period under study in this project, 1968-2008, started with a decision for policy for the greater social inclusion of organised women and for granting them more independence. It is not clear to what extent this decision was implemented in practice. A new Committee of Bulgarian Women was established (1968) that was expected to organise and represent women. However, This Committee was still within the structures of the Fatherland Front, but was believed to be a ‘unified and independent guidance of women in the country’ (CC of BCP, 1968: 2). The tasks that were assigned to this new organisation were: to coordinate and control the activities of the state authorities, research institutions, and departments in their work on women’s problems; to collaborate in research on women’s issues; to report the most important ‘issues related to women’s place and role in building of socialism’ (CC of BCP, 1968: 2); and to represent Bulgarian women on the national and international level.

The fulfilment of party decisions was the main goal of organised women during the following years. Their tasks were described by their leader Elena Lagadinova as ‘educational work among Bulgarian women to improve their political, pedagogic, and culture of every day life’ and to ‘create communist morality and discipline’ (Lagadinova, 1970: 1-2). Thus the work of the Committee focused on women’s professional problems, family and partnership relations, women’s living standards and education, and most of all on childcare (Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women (CMBW), 1980). This demonstrates that intimate citizenship issues were on the agenda of organised women from the beginning of this period.

Partnership

The newly established Committee of Bulgarian Women made demands for better conditions for the combination of women’s family, employment and social duties. According to the report

(1970) of the Chairwoman of the organisation on the situation of Bulgarian women, they faced significant problems because of 'women's previous development and their function to give birth and to raise the next generation' (Lagadinova, 1970: 3).

The discourse of organised women and the demands that were made reveal essentialist understandings of women's role and a lack of any critical engagement with the traditional division of labour. As a result all demands during this period were addressed to the state, and they had a protectionist and welfarist tinge. There were four main areas of demands of organised women in the 1970s:

- Women's participation in the labour force;
- Childcare and domestic duties;
- Family and partnership relations;
- Gender mainstreaming.

All these problems were seen as interrelated and the accent was put on the preoccupation of women and the lack of enough time for childcare which had negative results on the upbringing of children (Lagadinova, 1970).

In relation to the first sphere, of employment, the main concern was government plans for mechanisation of agricultural work that would affect women in a negative way. Many women working in agriculture had low qualifications and the CBW suggested the evaluation of the need of women's labour and the re-direction of women to positions where they would be necessary, without 'endangering' their ability to have children (Lagadinova, 1970). The Committee requested more effort to be made to ensure gender equality through qualification and re-qualification of women; to ensure more female representatives at higher positions; and to ensure equal proportions of men and women in enterprises. Some of the demands concerning employment were related directly to women's 'special role' as mothers, for example, the availability of part-time jobs; regulation of work and rest time, and 'norms of production to be appropriate to the female organism and psyche' (Lagadinova, 1970: 4, my translation).

An interesting area of demands that is also relevant to intimate citizenship issues is family and partner relations. The socialist regime strongly opposed traditional values and attempted to create

a new morality and new personal relationships based on equality, or the so called 'socialist way of life' (Brunnbauer, 2008). Organised women were closely related to the communist doctrine, they were also working towards the same goals. These transformations were expected to envelop the realms of public as well as private life. Therefore, it can be argued that organised women during socialism advocated the creation of a new ethics of intimate citizenship.

In her Report on the situation of women, Lagadinova (1970) argued that gender equality remained incompletely achieved, which in her opinion created family problems. She further suggested that there was insufficient research on family relations to understand the causes of the existing problems, but that their existence was apparent because of practices of 'inappropriate behaviour', such as lack of care for the family, physical and mental abuse, 'violation of domestic duties', 'frivolous behaviour in marriage', and 'debauchery'. These problems were linked to existing 'barriers from an old, powerful and resistant tradition, which has often manifested itself in various situations in life and contradicts the new economic and social situation of women and [also contradicts] the changes in women's consciousness' (Lagadinova, 1970: no page).

According to the Report, the solution to the marital problems at that time was divorce (Lagadinova, 1970). Based on these observations the Committee suggested the need to prepare young people to have a family at school, through public organisations, and through some authorities. The organisation also claimed financial and moral support for young families, for mothers with 'extramarital children', and for 'morally endangered women' (Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973). It is not clear to what the last 'classification' refers but all behaviours and practices that were outside the ascribed 'proper socialist' behaviour triad of work-marriage and children-activism could fall into this category. Other family-related demands were for more measures that would allow the combination of employment and family duties. Interestingly, the salvation of some family problems is seen in the dual attitude towards women – to be regarded as equal partners at work and in society, as well as 'masters' of the family (Lagadinova, 1970).

The Committee of Bulgarian Women also insisted on moral support for families experiencing difficulties, through research, family consultations, and the development of a Programme for Strengthening of the Family. The proposed Programme was developed by a working group headed by M.Dangova and had three main strands (Lagadinova, 1970):

- Preparation of young people for marital and family life

This was to be achieved through educational programmes organised by social clubs, schools and universities, public lectures and discussions, and exhibitions.

- Support and privileges for people with families

The proposed benefits to families included: at least 60% of the usage of state holiday accommodation should be allocated to families; more housing should be made available; there should counselling for families experiencing difficulties and more support should be made available to couples after divorce. The working group also made various demands related to birth and childcare benefits. For example, demands for longer paid leave during pregnancy, breastfeeding and the caring for small children (to be extended to one year) and within this period the full salary to be given for a period of 150 days for the 1st child, the 3rd and any following children, and for 180 days for the second child. They also demanded the parental leave benefit received after that period to be raised to 35 leva and the period of unpaid maternity leave to be extended to 12 months. For mothers who had not been employed they demanded 35 leva monthly benefit for the first year of maternity leave. The group proposed also the amount of payment for working pregnant women should be calculated on the basis of their salary during the last 12 months before the pregnancy was registered. The same conditions should be given to fathers in cases where the mother is unwell, has deceased, or has employment obligations. There were demands for additional support for giving birth (30 leva per month for one year) and for higher child benefits. The proposal included suggestions that paid sick leave should correspond to the age of the child (3 months per year for children aged 5 or less; and one month after that) and there should be one year unpaid leave for parents, preferably the mother, raising chronically-diseased children. Other demands included: establishment of boarding houses for children of parents who are in a difficult situation (widows/widowers, divorced, diseased, going on long working trips); and lower prices of goods for children, including clothes, food, books and school text books.

- Increased penal responsibility

The proposal included demands for increased penal responsibility in cases of the ‘abuse of women’s trust with promises of marriage in cases of extramarital children’ and also higher penalties for the so-called ‘crimes against the family’. These crimes related to neglect of obligations towards a spouse who was not able to take care of themselves or towards children; preventing somebody from parental rights; failure to pay alimony and financial support to other close relatives. According to the Report this behaviour was evaluated as ‘eroding the foundations of the family community’.

According to the organisation the aims of these claims were to make raising children less demanding, and combining parental and professional duties easier, as well as to change public attitudes in favour of families with more than two children, and to make women financially independent from men while looking after children (Lagadinova, 1970). The last sphere of demands mentioned earlier relates to gender mainstreaming but the formulation of these demands is for more interest in women’s issues, the integration of women into decision making, and giving voice to women, for example through more print media.

Another aspect of intimate citizenship that organised women addressed (although this cannot be defined as a ‘demand’), relates to their contribution to the replacement of religious ceremonies with civil ones. The Committee saw its role as promoting the ‘mass implementation of civil rituals, and organisation of rich, meaningful and philistine-free family celebrations’ (Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973: 5). This meant that the religious ceremonies accompanying birth, christening, marriage, and death had to be replaced by civil ceremonies. This was another aspect of the ‘new’ intimate citizenship ethics because it aimed to transform practices related to very private rituals. A review of the activities of the organisation was published in ‘Today’s Woman’ (‘Жената Днес’, March, 1975) which gave a positive evaluation of the transformation from religious to civil ceremonies. The main reason given was ‘the attention to the individual’ that civil servants offer.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

A very significant part of the attention of organised women was focused on issues relating to care, in particular childcare, and to 'domestic duties'. This is probably the issue that can be singled out as most important within the organised women's activities in the late 1960s and the 1970s. There were numerous demands made by the Committee, for example demands for more efficient state provision of childcare. This was related to claims for: more childcare institutions, and their better territorial distribution; more flexible opening hours – half day, all week care including overnight, flexible care possibilities; permanent and not only seasonal childcare institutions in the rural areas; transport to and from nurseries and schools; small-group nurseries for children who cannot adapt to standard childcare provision; a contingent of women providing childcare at home; centralised preparation of food for childcare institutions; laundries at nurseries (Lagadinova, 1970; Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973). Other demands were related to industrial production of food for babies and small children, and for more public children's kitchens with more convenient food distribution points (Lagadinova, 1970).

The Committee also wanted more provision of services for children attending schools, for instance part-time boarding houses for pupils and full-time boarding houses for children in 'difficult situations' (those without parents, with divorced parents, or who were raised by single mothers); more before and after school study groups, and pre-school groups (Lagadinova, 1970).

In relation to domestic duties the Committee raised many demands that were expected to improve the multi-tasking situation of women. The main requirements were for development of more services that would replace or ease domestic work. The Committee asked for: the development and modernisation of public catering establishments; production of a larger variety of ready-made meals and half-cooked food; more canteens at schools and enterprises; better network of stores, including at the workplace, and home delivery of goods. Women demanded more available services to replace housework, for example public laundries, ironing services, dry cleaning, tailoring, etc (Lagadinova, 1970; Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973). There were even demands related to housing architecture – for better design, equipment and furnishing of housing, which would ease women's duties. Other demands were related to the limited quantities

and varieties of clothing available at the public stores, and especially clothes for babies, teenagers, and women (Lagadinova, 1970; Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973).

Even though organised women made demands that related to various spheres of women's lives, a central issue was the promotion of motherhood, and having more children. Thus organised women took an active part in the government's pronatalist policy labelling 'motherhood as the substantial condition for complete fulfilment of women's personality' (Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1973: 4). In this way the organised women created the idea of motherhood as a necessary and desired part of women's identity, with no possible alternatives. At the same time domestic work was seen as the sphere that was creating gender inequalities by adding additional burdens to women, and this was the area that was in need of urgent and significant reconstruction. This brings organised Bulgarian women closer to the second wave of Western feminist movements, although the idea of the *oppression* of the domestic and private lives of women did not develop in Bulgaria in the 1970s and 1980s, and it is questionable if it has developed at all.

The relationship between organised Bulgarian women and the socialist government is not one in which organised women could act as a pressure group, make claims and demand these to be addressed. The interaction between organised women and the authorities was a two-sided flow of demands, where the Bulgarian Communist Party could also place demands, often in the form of assigned tasks for the organised women. Therefore, it is very difficult to assess the extent to which the demands of organised women affected state policy and the extent to which it is the other way around. Nevertheless, some of the demands were addressed within the following years, for example the working week was reduced from 6 to 5 days in 1974 (Delev et al., 1996: 474); there was attempt to solve housing problems by rapid building of housing in big cities; salaries and pensions were increased (1973-75), working mothers were given additional protection and benefits (1973); young families received additional support for raising children and privileges in securing employment and housing (1976, 1979); there was the 'strengthening' of marriage through limited access to divorce and abortion (1976) (Vodenicharov, 2004); measures were taken to create a 'socialist way of life in young people, family education and work with young families' (Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (CC of BCP), 1978).

Some legislative changes took place in 1973 and in 1975 that can be linked to the demands of organised women, but also to the pronatalist course of state policy, for example: the period of paid and unpaid leave for looking after a child was extended; entitlements to sick leave were increased; the amount of maternity allowance and the financial support for raising a child were increased; scholarships for female students who have children were increased; and the lump sum received at childbirth was also increased. If a divorced parent was not paying support regularly the state could pay the amount, and then claim it from the debtor. Pregnant women received more protection from 'harmful working conditions' (7 days after determination of pregnancy they had to be transferred to another position; previously 4 months pregnancy) and they could not be dismissed or made redundant (Жената днес, June, 1975). The following changes were described by the magazine of the organization as 'filling Bulgarian women and Bulgarian citizens with gratitude, optimism, and even stronger confidence about the future' (Жената днес, June, 1975, Насоките стават дела: 20).

Women from Ethnic Minorities

The Committee included some activities aimed at women from the ethnic minoritised groups. There were attempts at raising 'awareness and self-respect of women' from areas with a high concentration of Turkish population (За дейността на движението, March, 1975). There was training for a 'higher culture of customs/daily lives', including courses on hygiene, childcare, contemporary clothing, sewing, etc. Work amongst Roma women included discussions of hygiene, professional orientation of children, overcoming of stereotypes, and integration (За дейността на движението, March, 1975).

To sum up, organised women in Bulgaria during the late 1960s and 1970s saw women's rights closely related to family rights. There were no demands to change or reconsider women's position and role in society, but rather claims for support for women to perform their roles, and especially to be supported as mothers. In contrast to women's movements in Western Europe and the United States during the same period, usually referred to as Second Wave Feminism, in Bulgarian women's activism there was no corresponding claim that 'The personal is political', no attempt to challenge the status quo related to reproduction, sexuality, or cultural representation. The demands raised by Bulgarian women were related to wider state protectionism, and enhanced

welfare support. In this sense, the pronatalist government policy can be seen as ‘victory’ of organised women. It has to be acknowledged that organised women were not independent of the state and there was no possibility of making ‘demands’ in the real sense of the word.

1.2.3. Mobilisation of Women in the 1980s

The 1980s decade was characterised by increasing economic difficulties and numerous unsuccessful attempts by the socialist government to carry out reforms that would bring quick recovery (Delev et al., 1996: 484). Again the political climate influenced the issues addressed by the organised women, and if it is difficult to speak of demands in the late 1960s and 1970s, it becomes even less possible to use this phrase for the 1980s. The decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party from 1979 mobilised the Women’s Committee in government in attempts to stem the growing difficulties. Women’s organisation in the 1980s started from a very different place from that in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The Committee of Bulgarian Women was transformed in an attempt to improve its efficiency, and its name was changed to the Movement of Bulgarian Women (1979) (Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women (CMBW), 1980). A Programme of the Committee (1980) demonstrated the new priorities and ‘new values’: high efficiency and return of investment, and receiving what one has worked for. The tasks were to turn the slogan ‘Nothing is for free and we’ll live as we work’ into a way of thinking (CMBW, 1980: 2). The same document quoted the Greetings for Women’s Day (8 March) sent by the Communist Party:

We strongly believe that each of you will nobly take her share in achieving the priority task – the frugal living to become a mentality, to become a purpose and commitment of the millions, to become a leading principle of our work (BCP quoted in CMBW, 1980: 10).

These contra-demands (‘contra’ because they were demanded of organised women not by them) were framed as participation in ‘some economic tasks and solving some social problems of the Bulgarian family and the working woman’ (CMBW, 1980: 20). These tasks included saving labour, materials, resources, fuel, electricity, finances, not only in public production, but also by families, in personal consumption. Women were seen as the most appropriate people to be responsible for ‘thrift and care for public wealth’ (CMBW, 1984: 10). The Committee developed

a wide range of activities, including recycling campaigns and donation of clothes to homes for children and teenagers without parents (CMBW, 1984). In response to these tasks the Committee adopted a new approach, which was ‘not to ask for more funding but to use what is available in more reasonable way’ (CMBW, 1980: 20).

The discourse of organised women in the 1980s thus took on a ‘missionary’ tinge, and the accent was put on the so-called ‘ideologically- educational work’. This can be exemplified in the tasks of the Committee which were framed as creating a ‘patriotic and international mentality’, ‘raising labour virtues’, ‘affirmation of the new socialist daily life and forming national culture for consumption’, ‘family activation for completing economic tasks’ [what is meant here is private production of agricultural goods for people’s own consumption to compensate for the shortages] (CMBW, 1980: 5-6). From the pages of the magazine ‘Today’s Woman’ the organisation advocated ‘quality changes in mentality and attitude towards the consumption of goods in daily life’, and ‘increased activism and responsibility’ (Жената днес, Повишена активност и отговорност, June, 1985).

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

The Committee had the promotion of women’s role as mothers and carers as its main focus. Motherhood had a central role in political, media and organised women’s discourses even in the 1970s when images of strong and masculine women gave way to more traditionally feminine ideas of women’s motherhood (Vodenicharov, 2004). Motherhood was often constructed as ‘social duty to bear and rear the “socialist citizens of the future”’ (Einhorn, 1993: 40). This trend intensified in the discourse of organised women in the 1980s, and it was phrased not in terms of rights, but as obligations and responsibilities:

Contemporary Bulgarian women have great responsibility to preserve the cleanliness and good climate of the family, at home where the future generations are growing up and being educated, where the germs of the traditional virtues of our people are rooted – diligence, thrift, patriotism, honesty, modesty, love for children as a supreme virtue, the unique feeling for beauty and harmony. (Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women (CMBW), 1980: 9, my translation)

The celebrations to mark 1300 years since the establishment of Bulgaria were a good occasion to intensify the promotion of motherhood. The Committee organised a two-year discussion, ‘The

Bulgarian Woman in the National Development' (1980-2) (CMBW, 1980; 1984) including public lectures, round tables, conferences, and exhibitions promoting 'good' motherhood. In an information sheet by the Committee evaluating the activities between 1968 and 1984, the development at the beginning of the 1980s is assessed as a 'greater orientation towards the family– increasing the responsibility for strong family atmosphere, for giving birth, raising and educating more children' (CMBW, 1984: 3). The same document describes motherhood as 'vocation and patriotic duty of every woman'.

This was a highly traditional discourse on women's position in society, focusing on women's mission to raise children and to install in them 'proper' values and failing to address any gender inequalities whatsoever. In 1983 a new activity was added to the Committee's portfolio – the care of the elderly. This change was the result of a Presidium of the Fatherland Front on the 14 April 1982 and a later meeting in November 1982 that gave the Committee specific tasks (CMBW, 1983). In relation to this, the Committee started working to 'strengthen the relationship between the generations', for the 'education of young people in respect' for the elderly, and the encouragement of 'solidarity and mutual help' (CMBW, 1983). Some of these activities included helping old people living alone or in care institutions; assisting pensioners' clubs, creating a register of old people who need help, and the reintegration of active pensioners through work activities (CMBW, 1983). This demonstrates another aspect of intimate citizenship that was taken on by organised women.

Working with 'difficult' social groups was another sphere in which the Committee was involved. These were women from 'culturally backward groups' which is the popular socialist expression for women from the Turkish minoritised group, and another group is children and teenagers from care institutions (CMBW, 1980: 5). Organised women aimed at working on limiting 'antisocial actions', keeping the law, and the 'development of [what was seen as] socialist democracy'. This 'policing' aspect of women's activism is interesting and not foreseeable. Another sphere that was taken up was involvement in campaigns against alcohol drinking and tobacco smoking (CMBW, 1980: 16). The Committee also took part in the monitoring of labour conditions, aiming to ensure that women's rights were not violated but also that 'the interests of enterprises and the state are protected from disturbers of labour discipline' (CMBW, 1980: 23).

The 'missionary' role of women was also relevant on the international scene, where Bulgarian women were taking part in the peace movement and contributing to good relationships between the neighbour countries in the Balkans (CMBW, 1980: 23).

Towards the late 1980s the activities of organised women were slowing down, and just a few months before the democratic changes the leader of the Committee reported that more needed to be done to surmount the lack of participation and apathy of women (Committee of Bulgarian Women (CBW), 1989a). The 'formation of new values in the Bulgarian woman' (CBW, 1989a: 9) was still 'on the table'.

By the end of 1989, the situation contrasted with the 1960s and 1970s – with growing discontent with the regime, and serious economic difficulties – and the Committee tried to evaluate the new circumstances and their impact on women. A Report of CBW in November 1989 discussed that fact that most people who lost their jobs were women with care responsibilities who had to take time off more often (CBW, 1989b). In spite of the efforts to address the new situation, the women from the Committee were 'talking the same talk' which demonstrates how unprepared they were to grasp the actual magnitude of the changes. The demands of the late 1980s were still for state protection of women's employment, and motherhood, and for better goods and services that would reduce the weight of domestic work more easily (CBW, 1988; 1989b).

Some of the Committee's demands were related to support for women in the new labour market situation, for example support of women who have lost their jobs, demands for flexible employment, and recognition of childcare as 'labour of high responsibility and of public benefit' (CBW, 1989b: 2). Nevertheless, the Committee admitted in the report that the changes were occurring too quickly and were outdistancing any reaction and ability to take measures.

To sum up, organised women in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 1980s did not manage to raise any demands. The process of economic stagnation resulted in a change of discourse that resembles the famous J.F. Kennedy's phrase 'don't ask what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country'. Women were mobilised in thrift, saving, and preaching the new morality. This was linked to even further (than in the 1960s and 1970s) promotion of women's role as mothers, as well as in some 'policing' functions of women's activism. At the very end of the 1980s the Committee started raising demands for state protection of women and

motherhood, but these demands were based on long years of habitual activism rather than on ad hoc evaluation of the situation.

Generally, during socialism organised women were in a contradictory position when trying to represent women and to defend their interests, whilst at the same time aiming to implement government policy. The main demands raised related to women's employment, domestic work and childcare, and for increased impact of women on policy and legislation. The focus of organised women during socialism, however, was not only on the demands they made. They had another quite important function – to transform women's mentality, habits, and tastes and to 'produce' the 'new' socialist woman. This also involved significant transformations in the private sphere and creation of a 'new' idea of intimate citizenship.

Socialism 'prioritized resistance against class oppression above agitations based on any specific form of gendered subjugation. Proletarian men were seen as closer allies than bourgeois women, who then, as now, advocated a kind of global sisterhood' (Ghodsee, 2004: 730). Ghodsee (2004) refers to the forthcoming period as the 'feminisms-by-design' stage due to the influence of 'western' ideas and funding in the newly formed NGO sector.

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

This dimension of intimate citizenship has not been thoroughly addressed by organised women during socialism. The only exception is in relation to sexual relationships between adults and women's sexual pleasure, which were considered on the pages of 'Today's Women' magazine published by the Committee of Bulgarian women.⁴ The publications represent an interesting discussion of what was considered to be 'proper' and 'inappropriate' sexual relationships. Women's sexual pleasure was seen as an important part of sexual practices and a prerequisite for successful and happy marriage. A more detailed analysis of how intimate citizenship issues were addressed in the magazine between 1965 and 1995 is included in appendix one.

⁴ For more details about the magazine, how intimate citizenship issues were addressed in it, and about sampling see appendix 1.

Gender and Sexual Violence

Gender and sexual violence is also a dimension of intimate citizenship that has remained outside the focus of organised women. The Committee carried out several campaigns against alcohol abuse and it can be argued that these actions were a form of struggle against gender and sexual violence, even though they were not openly defined as such. The women's magazine also published materials against the excessive use of alcohol and on a few occasions discussed domestic violence as unacceptable practice.

1.3. The Women's Movement during the Post-Socialist Period (after 1989)

There was a proliferation of women's organisations during the first decade after the collapse of the socialist regime. Lang (1997) describes this as 'NGOization of feminism' in relation to Eastern Germany, which is a shift away from the preceding form of collective mobilisation. Lang (1997) connects this NGOization of feminism to the 'professionalisation and internal cohesion of feminist projects' and to 'restrictive appropriation of feminist agenda for state policies' leading to legislative action on some feminist claims (Lang, 1997: 115-116). This analysis applies also to Bulgarian women's activism after 1989. Therefore, I still try to avoid the word 'movement' and use 'women's activism', 'women's organisations', etc. – phrases that do not suggest unified and grassroots civil society action.

Women's activism during the first five to ten years after 1989 was mostly in the areas of the environment, education, human rights, and the number of organisations working on gender equality remained small (Women's Alliance for Development, 2000; Daskalova and Filipova, 2003). Charity was again one of the main activities of women's NGOs, offering help to people in need, most often to orphans, the disabled, or the elderly. The women's organisations at this stage were relatively weak due to overall lack of gender awareness and experience of activism (WAD, 2000; Daskalova and Filipova, 2003). At this time women's groups represented a relatively small part of civil society organisations, around one tenth the registered NGOs. The number of women's NGOs rose significantly in 1993-1995, and again in 1996-1997, 'when it became clear that the transition to the free market and democracy placed new burdens on women, and that

government was not prepared to address these problems' (WAD, 2000: 1). But the number of women's NGOs working on gender equality issues remained small (WAD, 2000: 1).

The discourse of women's activism during the first post-socialist decade, according to Daskalova (2000), can be described as navigating between demands for rights of women and the socialist discourse about women's emancipation. At the same time there does not seem to be a single issue that was dominant, either for the whole of women's activism, or for each organisation. The programmes and activities of the women's NGOs of this period were trying to address all problematic social issues that were related to women in some way, including issues related to economic, political, and intimate citizenship. Very often the organisations found themselves representing women in general, with the small exception of women's organisations from ethnic minority groups, and there also were women's organisations based on profession (for example Women in Science) or education (for example Bulgarian Association of University Women). Bulgarian women's activism after 1989, as Kostova (1998) suggests, was characterised by weak organisations with tactical rather than strategic aims, organised around single issues and very often passive, based on discussions and no action (Kostova, 1998: 218-219).

After the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) the Bulgarian women's movement entered into a more dynamic phase marked by a growth of local activism, more professional organising, and a clearer focus on gender (WAD, 2000). A study of women's NGOs carried out by Daskalova and Filipova's (2003) demonstrated that almost half of the organisations were national, and half worked at local level. They identified the top priority issues of women's NGOs at this stage as: violence against women, including sexual harassment; discriminatory employment practices (based on gender, age, and ethnicity); limited access of women to decision-making; unequal distribution of unpaid labour; gender stereotypes in education and sexism in advertising. A large part of the women's NGOs were trying to address the public at large – 48% of women's groups, which were related to educational goals. Another 28% were targeted at children and youth, 16% at women from minority groups, 12% at vulnerable women, and 8% at disabled people or the elderly (Daskalova and Filipova, 2003: 8). However, the authors do not mention if the organisations self-identified these target groups and if one issue per each organisation was selected, or several issues if the organisations were not single-purposed.

A key difference between Bulgaria and other post-socialist countries, according to Daskalova, was the lack of a moralising pro-choice vs. pro-life debate in the country in general, and in women's activism in particular. The liberalisation of the abortion law making abortion on demand available to all women happened without much debate in parliament, or in society, with little opposition from the Orthodox Church (Daskalova, 2000: 345). This made some of the concerns of western feminists irrelevant to the Bulgarian post-socialist context. Instead of abortion, Daskalova (2000) further suggests, post-socialist women's activism focused on other intimate citizenship issues, such as the availability of contraceptives, the improvement of sex education, and the promotion of family planning (Daskalova, 2000). It does not become clear from the analysis, however, if the organisations Daskalova refers to are feminist, conservative women's, pro-family, or health organisations. I have not been able to find information about any particular feminist organisation working on the above-mentioned issues and, therefore, I believe that it was conservative women's or pro-family organisations that took these initiatives on board.

There were 35 women's NGOs by 1995 and most influential among them were those connected to the socialist parties (Daskalova, 2000). Daskalova (2000: 353) suggests that 'the scope of action of such organisations is very limited; their agenda is subject to change upon notice from party leadership'. This again is not unexpected because of the way in which the women were collectively organised during the period of socialism. The first years after the limitations on civil organisations were lifted, the functional principle remained almost unchanged, with strong affiliations to politics. Women from different political parties could not combine in support of common issues, and 'in a nationalist milieu, women acting on their own agenda are reproached for being selfish', she further suggests (Daskalova, 2000: 360). This caused marginalisation of women's interests in collective action and an overwhelming emphasis on women's role as mothers (Daskalova, 2000). This is very similar to the agenda of organised women during socialism. Kostova (1998) suggests that women's problems were not a priority for the organisations after 1989 as the 'emphasis is put on solving women's problems only as members of other groups – the unemployed, youth, or pensioners' (Kostova, 1998: 219).

Some of the women's organisations after 1989 were affiliated to political parties. Some examples of such organisations were: the Democratic Union of Women and the Christian women's Movement which were close to the Socialist Party (Българска социалистическа партия), the

Women's Club at the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (Български земеделски народен съюз), The Federation of Women's Clubs at the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (Българска Социалдемократическа партия), and the organisations Women for Pure Natural Habitat and the National Ecology Club, affiliated to the Green Party (Зелена партия) (Daskalova, 2000).

Many organisations based on professions were established to support women from specific groups, for example the Bulgarian Association of Women in Law; the Bulgarian Association of University Women (BAUW), the business club Eterna; the Association of Women's Clubs in Business and the Liberal Professions; The Club of Women Inventors; The Club of Women in Information Technologies; Zherika (Women, Work, Career); and Women in Science (Daskalova, 2000). These organisations dealt with the particular professional problems of their members and the activities were guided by the interests of their members. The activities of these organisations differed significantly – some were internationally established, while others were not active at all (Daskalova, 2000).

Other forms of women's organised activism were also established during the post-1989 period. A political party of women, the Party of Bulgarian Women, was created in 1997; their leader was Vesela Draganova. The party gained popularity and entered parliament in 2001 when it made a coalition with the liberal political party NDSV (National Movement for Stability and Progress (News.Bg, 2007)). Two large trade unions with women's sections were formed, and still exist, which were involved in the social protection of unionised women: the '21st Century Women's Parliament' of the KNSB (Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria) and the Women's Union to the Confederation of Labour 'Podkrepa' (Daskalova, 2000; Ilieva and Delinesheva, 2005).

The post-socialist context of economic hardships opened up space for many women's organisations that were involved in different forms of social support for vulnerable groups and charity work. An interesting example is the organisation Zherika (Women, Risk, Career) founded in 1994 and dedicated to supporting women under stress and psychological crisis (Daskalova, 2000). The activists of the organisation offered information services on where women can obtain medical, social and educational counselling. Supporting women was important because they were much more affected by the changes, according to Zherika – the feminisation of poverty being just one manifestation of this (Daskalova, 2000).

A forum for discussing women's issues that has now become an annual tradition is the National Meeting of NGOs, governmental representatives, and experts working on women's issues. This national gathering has taken place since 1997 when it was first organised by the Women's Program of the Open Society Foundation, and later by its successor, the Centre for Women's Studies and Policies (Ilieva and Delinesheva, 2005).

Another characteristic of women's activism in Bulgaria is the increasing attempt of organisations to establish national networks that would unite the efforts, coordinate the work, and consolidate activists in support of some common issues, especially in the last ten years. Examples of such networks are:

- **National Network for Equal Opportunities** initiated in 2001 by the Women's Alliance for Development and uniting 72 Bulgarian organisations (Ilieva and Delinesheva, 2005);
- **The National Network of Organisations in Support of Women Survivors of Violence in Bulgaria** – combined attempts of 24 organisations among which the biggest are Association 'Animus' and Foundation Centre 'Nadia';
- **Bulgarian Platform to the European Women's Lobby** – since 2003, the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation has had a central role amongst 15 member organisations;
- **Bulgarian Gender Equality Coalition** – initiated by the Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation (Ilieva and Delinesheva, 2005).

There was an earlier attempt to create a national network that took place in 1994, when a few women's organisations established a National Women's Forum together with Government authorities that would allow dialogue between women's groups and political parties. The purpose of the organisation was to lobby on certain gender issues in front of the legislative and executive authorities, public bodies, and the church and representation at international events (Daskalova, 2000) such as the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995. In preparation for the conference the Forum organised a 'National Campaign until Beijing and Further' (NAWS, 2002) to discuss gender issues in Bulgaria. This attempt to unify women's activism into some umbrella organisation and to organise joint action proved to be extremely difficult (Daskalova, 2000).

There are not many studies published trying to evaluate the focus of women's activism during the recent period. One such study was carried out by The Bulgarian Fund for Women focusing on the funding needs of NGOs working on women's and girls' issues. 128 questionnaires were sent out to organisations, of which 35 responded, and not all of the respondent organisations were active. The study found that the main areas on which the NGOs were working were: prevention of all forms of violence against women and support of victims of violence; trafficking; discrimination in employment; gender equality; women's participation in decision-making; youth policy, professional development and the integration of young people; anti-discrimination and civil rights protection; integration of people with impairments; environment; health; integration of ethnic minority groups; charity; development of civil society; and social services (Slivkova, 2008).

From these areas, most activism was focused on violence and trafficking (20 NGOs); gender equality (8 NGOs); women from minoritised groups (7 NGOs); and employment and entrepreneurship (7 NGOs). Six organisations worked in each of the areas of education, healthcare, disability, and discrimination (Slivkova, 2008: 3). The main areas of concern for the organisations, the study revealed, were related to funding and collaboration. The NGOs found that there was insufficient long-term funding which would allow accumulation of finances and reinvestment in future projects, and they were requesting more support from central or local governments and the Fund for Women. The activists also believed that common action of NGOs would produce better potential for social change (Slivkova, 2008: 7).

Bulgarian women's NGOs have been mainly supported by international donor organisations, for instance the Open Society Foundation, the Global Fund for Women, Mama Cash, Stability Pact Force, the Netherlands' Foundation and PHARE, while there is still lack of government funding for such organisations (Social Innovation Fund, 2006). This financial dependence of the organisations is sometimes interpreted as weakness and a lack of independence, for example:

The NGO sector [in Bulgaria] is growing not only because of the availability of a solvent and low-risk market as represented by donors, but also because of growing unemployment among intellectuals. From its very origin this market is an export of services. Therefore, the NGOs sector has not emerged in a natural way, as a result of internal citizen needs; it complies with an external demand, articulated in the donors' aspiration to stimulate civic society in Bulgaria (UNDP 2001b: 41 cited in Ghodsee, 2004: 739).

Another factor that influenced women's activism is Bulgaria's accession to the European Union (EU). Towards the end of the first post-socialist decade experts from the EU started evaluating the development of the country in annual reports (1998) and the accession negotiations were opened (1999). Key legislative changes occurred with significant contribution by women's organizations, but also due to the influence of the EU agenda.

The agenda of women's activism in Bulgaria also became influenced by the gender equality issues put forward by the United Nations' Millennium Declaration adopted in 2000. The Millennium Development Goals contain eight targets, including gender equality and the empowerment of women (Goal three), to be achieved by 2015 (UNDP Bulgaria, 2007: 1). Although gender equality is a quite broad concept, the UN efforts are focused mostly on elimination of gender disparity in education, on equal opportunities in the labour market and on equality in political representation (United Nations (UN), 2007: 13). Hence, gender equality is seen as primarily related to economic and political citizenship, and not to intimate citizenship.

Bulgarian NGOs, especially women's organisations, have been involved in partnerships with the government, media, and the private sector to produce country reports on the Millennium Goals, and to campaign to raise public awareness about gender equality (UNDP Bulgaria, 2007: 1). The role of these national reports is seen to be to:

‘stimulate and guide the national debate on the concrete parameters for the development of the country and trigger changes in policy which could speed up the achievement of the Bulgarian national goals’. (UNDP Bulgaria, 2007: 2)

The positive language of what seems an important contribution of women's activism towards greater gender equality has in practice resulted in uniformity in the demands and actions of Bulgarian women's NGOs.

The pervasiveness of gender equality issues is observable also from the report of the Centre of Women's Studies and Policies, which describes the main role of women's activism in recent years as focusing on gender equality. The report outlines nine types of contribution to gender equality and non-discrimination, for instance: contribution to gender equality in political representation and decision making, in the labour market, more effective gender equality legislation, lobbying and negotiation with government bodies and authorities, rising awareness,

participation in national and international forums, struggle against breast cancer, and so on (Centre for Women's Studies and Policies (CWSP, 2003). The only issue that is related to intimate citizenship, according to this report, is violence, which is defined as gender equality and protection of human rights.

A similar trend towards a prevailing focus on gender equality is observable not only in Bulgarian women's activism during the last decade but also in the whole Balkan region, as Blagojevic (2003) points out. This also suggests that the women's activism in the Balkans, including Bulgaria, is often a combination of ambivalent ideologies:

Within the prevailing 'gender-mainstreaming discourse' or 'gender equality discourse' coexist often mutually excluding ideologies varying from conservatism to neoliberalism, from populism to elitism, from anarchism to nationalism. Women's agenda is often an unstable ground for coalitions even for the women themselves. The attitude towards feminism is also often ambivalent and contradictory (Blagojevic, 2003, p 5).

The gender equality discourse was also related to the involvement of women's organisations in the drafting and discussion of the Law on Protection against Discrimination (2004). The women's NGOs pointed out in positive terms the overall government engagement with anti-discrimination legislation (Stoykova, 2007) but also made claims for creating effective gender equality mechanisms, not marginalising gender issues, and measures for the implementation of equal treatment and certain EU Directives (Open Society, 2002 cited in Stoykova, 2007). The NGOs not only had a significant role in the drafting of the law but also in contributing to its implementation. For example, the Women's Alliance for Development implemented a project on 'Capacity building of employers, NGOs and trade unions for implementation of the Law on Protection Against Discrimination' (2004-2006). There were two recent projects 'Promoting Equal Opportunities Mechanisms at local level' in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Vojvodina, Serbia (2006) and 'Mainstreaming diversity - through information, education and measuring discrimination' (2007-2008) implemented by the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Reproductive rights and parenting is the dimension of intimate citizenship that has remained a central concern of women's activism both before and after 1989. During the past ten to fifteen

years it has been increasingly perceived by women's NGOs as part of gender equality. Many of the claims and demands that the NGOs made after 1989 were not very different from the ones made by organised women during socialism. However, there were some new elements. The difference, most importantly, is in the demand for an alternative identity to the worker-mother-activist model proclaimed during socialism, and in the demand for protection of women's rights as human rights and as part of gender fair citizenship. Due to the very limited information from secondary sources on women's activism during the first years after 1989, I am not able to make a distinction between feminist organisations and conservative women's organisations and I will consider them together in this section. It is also possible to argue that there was not a clear division between the two at this early stage of state-independent activism.

A few examples can be given to demonstrate the claims and demands of the women's organisations that relate to intimate citizenship. For instance, the Democratic Women's Union (DWU) was the largest women's organisation during the first years after 1989 and it was 'heir' to the Committee of Bulgarian Women, which existed during the communist period (Daskalova, 2000). The Union relied on its old structures and the support from the Socialist Party (Daskalova, 2000). It claimed to represent all women, regardless of their political affiliation, religion, or social status, and to protect their 'interests and dignity in society, improving their position in family and employment, and affirming social justice' (DWU, 1990: 1). The actual goals of the organisation were not very different from its socialist platform – there were stills claims for better prestige of motherhood and parenthood; improvement of working conditions for pregnant women; reducing the weight of domestic work; preparation of young people for family life; and recovery of Bulgarian traditional virtues in family and society (DWU, 1990). The new aspect was that 'women heads of households' were added among the groups who needed support because they were perceived as having 'burdened life fates' (DWU, 1990).

A large part of the demands of the Democratic Women's Union were related to intimate citizenship. For example, there were demands related to reproductive rights and parenting – for longer paid leave and shorter working days for mothers; greater entitlements to sick leave; higher child benefits; and more social welfare and tax relief for young families and women with many children. The DWU also demanded the abolition of the Bachelor Tax, which people aged over 25 years without children paid. The organisation asked for prioritising housing access for women

head of households and for young families; more conditions for quality time of parents and children; more support for children without parents, or in social or health risk; more relaxed adoption procedures; and introduction of professional foster parenting (DWU, 1990). The organisation also claimed that there should be a wider variety of 'models for women's roles and identity' in society. For the first time the organisation also demanded new legislation on women and family issues that would correspond to international standards. The Democratic Union also stipulated removal of gender discrimination in the diplomatic professions, for example the ban on women from studying 'International Relations' (DWU, 1990). The demands for support of families were still not different from those made during socialism. However, there were 'new' demands that related to adoption, foster parenting, and women's identity, that can be described as a shift towards claims for more diverse intimate citizenship practices, with less focus on the traditional gender roles and the nuclear family.

The language of the organisation changed significantly from the socialist period. The Platform (DWU, 1990) mentioned equality, non-discrimination, freedom of choice, representation, compassion, unity and reconciliation of the nation. This represents a significant shift from the discourse during socialism, and especially its last years where the emphasis was often put on obligation and responsibility. In spite of the many commonalities in the demands of the organisation, there was some 'fresh air' and some orientation towards international human rights.

The attempts of the Union leaders to transform the descendent of the communist state-controlled women's organisation resulted in a programme that has 'a little bit of everything in [its...] 'catch-all' documents' (Daskalova, 2000: 355) and generally does not have a clear position in relation to demands. Authors like Petrova (1993) and Daskalova (2000) are very critical of the ability of the Union to transform and to express a sincere concern for women. They suggest that the organisation became even more pre-occupied with traditional patriarchal values, which 'betrayed women's long-term interests as well as the 'socialist promise' for gender equality (Petrova, 1993: 25).

Another organisation that took part in women's activism during the first years of the new regime and raised intimate citizenship demands was the Christian Women's Movement. The orientation and the claims of this organisation were based on nationalist ideas and a strong patriarchal orientation (Daskalova, 2000). In relation to intimate citizenship, the Movement proclaimed that

the situation of women as mothers and wives is honourable and it should be recognised as such (Daskalova, 2000). The organisation demanded that women were given the right to choose between children and career, that women's domestic work was acknowledged. The organisation had liberal views on abortion, and they demanded some restrictions of pornographic materials to special zones in towns (Daskalova, 2000).

The Bulgarian Association of Women in Law (BAWL) is another organisation that had activities related to intimate citizenship. BAWL was one of the most active organisations of women professionals. It was founded in 1991 with funding from the European Union and played an active role in the drafting of bills dealing with the rights of women, children, and family (Daskalova, 2000). The organisation was involved in attempts to improve the protection of women and children, and to harmonise Bulgarian laws with international ones. The NGO had significant input in the new Children's Law (Daskalova, 2000).

The National Association Women in Science (NAWS) is another specialist organisation that supports the professional advancement of women and made claims related to parenthood. It was one of the first organisations of women that started its existence in 1987 under the name 'Club of Women Inventors and Rationalisers' (Клуб на жените изобретателки и рационализаторки) (NAWS, 2002). The organisation has taken part in expert groups and legislation discussions about gender equality and children's rights, and also in programmes on family planning (NAWS, 2002). The main focus of the organisation, however, has been on women's professional development and the representation of women. NAWS has been involved in projects related to women's participation in government, women's entrepreneurship, women's access to information technologies, and to school education programmes (NAWS, 2002).

The Bulgarian Women's Union (BWU, Български женски съюз) was another organisation that contributed to the discussion of reproductive rights and parenting. The BWU was an organisation unaffiliated to political parties. Its leaders claimed that they have restored the tradition of the 'bourgeoisie' pre-communist Women's Association and it had strong anti-socialist orientation (Daskalova, 2000). The organisation was re-established in 1993 and its president is Julia Berberian – a trainer and mother of the three sisters Maleevi – famous Bulgarian tennis champions (Bulgarian Women's Union, 2008).

The goals of the Union are an example of my argument above about the all-inclusiveness of the women's NGOs. The Union aims at the protection of the rights of women regardless of their race, language, religion, and ethnic origin. They are involved in research on gender inequality and the rights of women, and in contributing to gender (in)equality legislation and policy. The main way in which this organisation sees the move towards the equality of women is the promotion of legislation and policies favouring women, such as protectionist policies and access to welfare (Daskalova, 2000). Some of the demands of the Union relate to intimate citizenship, mostly to the dimension of reproductive rights and parenting. For example, the organisation insisted the retirement age of women to be lowered by two years for every child that a woman rears, remuneration to be paid to mothers looking after young children, and tax relief to be offered to employers who employ women with children under the age of ten or young people from orphanages. The activists from the organisation saw this as legal recognition of women's and mothers' work, and as treating domestic work and employment on an equal basis (Daskalova, 2000). The Union also worked in the area of gender and sexual violence: temporary shelters for women victims of violence were created and a call centre 'Telephone of Confidence' for free counselling was established (Daskalova, 2000). Other activities relate to political citizenship, for instance the Union was also dedicated to improving women's participation in politics and decision making, and to better access to information for women and other groups in unequal social positions. Other areas of activity were education, training and the re-qualification of women, the organisation of exhibitions, sports events, and concerts, provision of medical consultations and development of programmes for women's and children's health, and even activities related to the protection of the environment and to charitable work (Bulgarian Women's Union, 2008). The programme and activities of the Union are very diverse and it is not possible to define a single issue of this very active women's organisation. Daskalova (2000: 357) evaluates the activism of this organisation as falling within an older tradition of charity work, and also as supporting women's traditional roles and identities. The intimate citizenship issues, however, were important to the programme of the Union.

Another organisation founded in 1991 as independent from any political parties is of special interest to intimate citizenship – The Single Mothers Association (Дружество на самотните майки). This organisation is an example of an NGO representing the interests of a more specific group of women. Towards the end of the 1990s the organisation had about 300 single mothers as

members and also some single fathers, and its goals were to solve some problems specific to the group of single parents (Daskalova, 2000). The NGO was involved in demands for social benefits, legal counselling, and in financial support for socially disadvantaged groups. For example, the Association sent a petition for lower interest rates on mortgages for single mothers, a petition for prolonging the retirement age for single mothers who give birth at an older age or adopt a child later in life (Daskalova, 2000).

The women' NGOs drafted a joint appeal in 2007, the European year of equal opportunities and of the celebration of 60 years equal voting rights for women. They made some demands, for example, related to economic citizenship: for equal pay, equal treatment in employment policies, and equal access to goods and services. Some of the demands were related to intimate citizenship issues: more efforts for improving the conditions for reconciliation of family and professional life, and integration of gender equality in the demographic policy (CWSP, 2007a). The NGOs also noted that the gender inequality in parenting has increased with the adopted changes of parental leave. From the beginning of 2007 the Leave for Pregnancy and Birth, during which women are entitled to 90% of their pre-maternity salary, was extended from 135 to 315 days. Fathers are not entitled to this leave. They can take Leave for Raising a Child, to which both parents are entitled after the Leave for Pregnancy and Birth is over. The text of the appeal suggests:

On one hand this change will contribute to the calm raising of children until the age of nine months by their mothers and with secure income close to the one received before birth. However, on the other hand, this [change] predefines the family choice of the parent who will be the carer until the child reaches nine months. In this way, father's care for children of this age is not stimulated by the change in law (CWSP, 2007a: 1, my translation).

Therefore, it can be argued that parenting is framed as part of the wider discussion of gender equality, and that it involves not only women's rights, but also men's (fathers') and children's rights. Gender fair citizenship, as it was constructed by the women's activism, has extended to include intimate citizenship.

Partnership, Reproductive Rights and Parenting

The most current debate focused on intimate citizenship is in relation to the proposed changes in the Family Code, which regulates a wide range of intimate relations, such as marriage, family relations including property and inheritance rights, divorce, and adoption. The proposal was made by the Council of Ministers after discussions with expert groups at the different ministries and NGOs, and was approved during the first reading by the Parliament on the 2 October 2008. There were attempts to introduce the legal recognition of de-facto cohabitation ('registered de facto cohabitation') for the first time in Bulgaria but this article was removed from the final version of the Family Code ⁵. The new code simplified and expedited marriage, divorce, and adoption procedures and its drafting was at the centre of public debates and civil society actions between 2006 and 2009.

During the annual national meetings of women's NGOs in 2006 and 2007, the participants drafted joint appeals to the government with demands relating to proposed changes to the Family Code. In relation to the discussed changes of the Code, the women's organisations in 2006 demanded more regulation on the rights to personal contact between parents and children. The Family Code at this point regulated only post-divorce relationships, and excluded any other parent-child relationships. The appeal of 2006 reads:

In relation to the changes in contemporary forms of family life, we insist on timely amendments in the legislation on rights to personal relationships between parents and children in cases of divorce, separation of parents, or in cases when the parents never lived together, as well as on more effective protection of the interests of children in such circumstances (Centre of Women's Studies and Policies, 2006c: 1, my translation)

The NGOs also insisted on being allowed to contribute actively to the discussions of the proposed changes to the Family Code. The appeal of the following year contained more detailed demands, and their importance was seen in relation to gender equality, and equality between children who are adopted, or born within or outside marriage. The text speaks in support of the

⁵ The proposal was adopted on the 12.06.2009, promulgated in State Gazette 47/2009 and came into force on the 1st of October 2009. The legalisation of de-facto cohabitation was revoked. The text of the proposal can be found at: <http://www.parliament.bg/?page=app&lng=bg&aid=4&action=show&lid=2133> [accessed 12.07.2009], and the Minutes from the parliamentary discussion: <http://www.parliament.bg/?page=plSt&lng=bg&SType=show&id=587> [accessed 12.07.2009]. The response of other organisations in relation to the proposed changes to the Family Code is discussed in section two of this report on other movements for gender and sexual equality and change.

‘the first ever recognition in family law [...] of the non-formal family community between a man and a women and the definition of its legal consequences’ (CWSP, 2007a: 1) and the main advantage is seen to be the clarity of the existence of such union and its duration, and the recognition of fatherhood which is of ‘extreme importance for the life of the family’. The appeal also suggests that marital and cohabiting arrangements are treated more equally, for example in relation to the termination of alimony, which happens not only when the ex-spouse remarries, but– after the new changes were adopted – after the ex-spouse enters a registered de facto union. The document also criticises some aspects of the new Family Code in relation to property rights. The difference between nuptial and pre-nuptial agreements on one side and agreements signed by a cohabiting couple on the other is pointed out as a shortcoming. The latter are regulated by civil law, and not by family law. The women’s NGOs demand recognition of the right to inheritance for cohabiting partners, which is not part of the proposal.

In relation to partnership, a very specific demand concerning forced marriages was made by the women’s NGOs after the annual meeting in 2007. In the Appeal sent to the government, the activists suggest that an existing text of the Penal Code might force women into marriage and they demanded the text be removed (CWSP, 2007a). According to this text, marriage can be a reason for removal of sanctions for some sexual acts that are criminalised by the Penal Code (CWSP, 2007a). These acts are, firstly, those with people under the age of 14 years aimed at arousing or satisfying sexual desire with or without copulation, with or without the use of force, threat, or where the underage person appears helpless; secondly, acts with a person of 14 years of age or over who does not understand the character or importance of the act; and thirdly, copulation with a female person by the use of force, or who is a dependent employee. Art.158 reads that if marriage between the defendant and the victim of the above acts occurs, the case will be closed (Penal Code). The women’s NGOs believe that this text opens up the possibility of forced marriage.

Another demand related to intimate citizenship was made by the same document and it concerned parenting and more generally care. The NGOs objected against the text of the Regulation for Medical Expertise of Ability to Work (State Gazette 47/07.06.2005) that came into force in 2007 (CWSP, 2007a). According to this regulation an employed person accompanying an ill family member to hospitals (here children over the age of 7 are included) has to sign a declaration that

there is no other unemployed family member that could take care of the ill person, in order to receive a doctor's notice for taking a day off work (CWSP, 2007a). The appeal suggests that the family member who is unemployed is not always actually able to take care of the child. 'The problems are usually for mothers of children, who are usually the ones to stay at home with them, and now have to sign declarations for this', the appeal reads (CWSP, 2007a).

To sum up, the way the women's activism in Bulgaria has discussed partnership, reproductive rights and parenting demonstrates that the focus has shifted away from the preoccupation with the marital union to include non-marital adult relationships and relationships between parents and children. In relation to this the women's organisations have taken onboard fathers' rights and especially children's rights. Intimate citizenship has become part of the overall struggle for gender-fair citizenship, and has occupied a central part of women's activism.

Gender and Sexual Violence

Another theme that has been central to women's activism during the post-socialist period is focused around issues of gender and sexual violence, such as domestic and intimate partner violence, trafficking, and prostitution. This is the area that has been most intensively addressed not only by women's activism, but also by NGOs of the ethnic minorities, by LGBT activism, and by government actions. The activism of the women's NGOs in relation to gender and sexual violence was initially formulated in the form of demands, mostly for protective legislation. There were several pieces of legislation that were adopted between 2000 and 2005: Law on Protection of the Child (2000), Law on Counter-Trafficking of People (2003), Law on Protection against Discrimination (2004), and Law on Protection against Domestic Violence (2005). This to a large extent provided the legal framework for protection from gender and sexual violence and it appears that the main focus of the women's activism during the past several years has been on the implementation of the laws and the collaboration between NGOs, the government and different authorities. NGOs have a consultative role concerning laws and policies in the National Council on Equality between Women and Men, the Consultative Commission on Equal Opportunities, and the National Commission to Combat Trafficking in Persons (Open Society, 2007: 34). According to Article 2(a) of the Act on Legal Acts, ministries are obliged to discuss all laws with

social actors before adopting them and therefore ‘women’s NGOs play an important role’ in drafting and designing laws and policies on gender and sexual violence (Open Society, 2007: 34).

There are two main patterns in the way the women’s activism in Bulgaria has made its claims and demands in relation to gender and sexual violence. Firstly, in relation to domestic violence, the NGOs have made attempts to ‘break the silence’ around violence and to claim that it is not a private but public issue. The key aspect here is information campaigns and collaboration with state institutions and other NGOs. Secondly, women’s activism has represented the issue of trafficking as closely related to the overall situation in the country and has focused on the necessity for overall improvement of living conditions as a way of preventing trafficking. In relation to this, many demands were made for financial support, long-term campaigns, more coherent information, and finally better protection of the victims. Protection of children, women, and people with socially unprivileged background has been in the focus of the attention of the women’s activism.

Domestic violence

One of the central issues of demands and action of women’s activism during the last ten years has been domestic violence and the main activities fall into the areas of lobbying, prevention, networking, and offering support of victims. The women’s NGOs have focused on raising awareness that violence against women is a public issue and there is a need for the legal regulation of domestic violence.

In a report on domestic violence in Bulgaria the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights described the situation in 1996 in the following way:

Domestic violence is a serious and pervasive problem in Bulgaria. A women's fundamental right to be free from violence is not protected at any phase of the legal process. Police do not respond appropriately to the problem. Bulgarian law expressly discriminates against victims of domestic assault. The law exempts from state prosecution certain types of assault if committed by a family member, although the state prosecutes the same act if committed by a stranger. [...] The courts do not take seriously their obligation to punish perpetrators of violence against women in the home. In addition, the government does not provide any social services to victims of domestic assault nor does it attempt in any way to prevent these crimes from occurring (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 1996: 5).

Women's activism took up domestic violence as 'one of the most burning problems' (Women's Alliance for Development, 2000) and focused its efforts on establishing services for women victims and campaigning in favour of protective legislation. The NGOs were active in developing stable partnerships and co-operation among women's organisations working on these issues. A non-formal network of NGOs working in the sphere of domestic violence was established in 2002 (Venelinova, 2003 cited by the Centre for Women's Studies and Policies, 2001) which started a lobbying campaign for implementation of legislation on domestic violence and trafficking. This made it 'possible to achieve a breakthrough and to put violence against women on the public agenda' (WAD, 2000).

Later on, women's activism took part in the drafting of the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence (2005) and in working towards its implementation and monitoring of the practice of protection against domestic violence (BGRF, 2007). There have been significant efforts to create a better collaboration between NGOs and authorities in the struggle against violence on local, national and international level. The role of the women's NGOs in the struggle against domestic violence has been significant:

NGOs are a crucial component in the prevention of and protection against domestic violence in Bulgaria. They offer victim services, conduct outreach and trainings, monitor and collect information, and facilitate coordination among sectors and institutions. (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008: 49)

The drafting of the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence (2005) was an important process in the country which started as an initiative of the women's NGOs, suggests Genoveva Tisheva (2005: 1-2), managing director of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (BGRF). One of the first projects on domestic violence in post-socialist Bulgaria, she argues, was on 'combating violence against women through research and education' carried out by the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation and the Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation between 1998 and 1999. The aims were to raise awareness about violence against women and gender discrimination; to create pro-active research with the purpose of legislative change; and also to establish the basis of gender education in Bulgarian schools (Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation, 1999a). These first efforts mainly focused on legal research on the issue of domestic violence in Bulgaria and the gaps in Bulgarian legislation (Tisheva, 2005).

A follow-up project focused on providing legal aid for women victims of violence (BGRF, 1999-2000). The main aim of the project was to establish a system of legal services and volunteer attorney networks as resources to respond to domestic violence, sexual harassment and sex discrimination (BGRF, 2001). As a result of these projects legal experts at BGRF prepared an initial draft law by mid-2001 (Tisheva, 2005). Tisheva (2005) describes the law as ‘a real breakthrough’ and ‘a great victory for Bulgarian women and women’s NGOs’. According to her, previously it was not recognised that violence against women is a serious public problem that needs to be regulated.

The target groups of the women’s NGOs in relation to gender and sexual violence have been different, including women victims of violence, children, local and national authorities, experts, the media, and the public in general.

- Women victims of violence

A large number of NGOs provide various forms of assistance to women victims of violence in terms of legal, social and psychological consultation, representation, counselling, hotlines and shelters (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008). There are three shelters for women in the country, with up to ten beds each, one general shelter for adolescent victims of violence, a family support centre, and two crisis centres (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008). NGOs working in the area of gender and sexual violence receive funding from foundations, international organizations, foreign governments, the state and municipalities. However, ‘despite these sources, NGOs in Bulgaria are seriously underfunded’ (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008, p 54), which affects the services and assistance NGOs can offer to victims. The lack of funding is ‘most evident in the dearth of shelters in Bulgaria’ (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008: 51), and in the very limited material assistance for victims, which is often limited to food, clothing and transportation to institutions (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008: 52).

Some organisations address specific groups of women, for example women who have suffered violence at work (Women’s Association ‘Ekaterina Karavelova, ‘Believe in Yourslef’ project, 2001), or Roma women (‘Protection from Domestic Violence’ project in 2007 by Association

Alternativa 55 (2008). Another anti-violence association identifies its target group as ‘formal and non-formal families’ who have reached situations of violence (SOS Families in Risk, no date).

- Children victims of violence or children of women victims

Children’s issues have been addressed by women’s organisations either separately, or as part of women’s programmes. Some of the projects have focused on creating a network of services by professionals in support to children survivors of violence (Association ‘Animus’, 2007), or in self-help groups where children offer help to each other (National Network for Equal Opportunities, 2004). For example, Centre Nadia initiated a 24-hour hotline for children at risk, including victims of violence in a project ‘Call a Friend’ (Centre Nadia, 2008). Young people from the Turkish and Roma minority groups have been addressed by some of the initiatives (Foundation Care for the Community ‘Diva’, 2005).

- Men

Men have been addressed only occasionally by women’s NGOs working on violence. A joint project of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation and Association, ‘Demetra’, focused on Consulting of Violent Men in Bulgaria (2000) as an advanced strategy for combating violence against women (BGRF, 2000).

- Authorities, experts, the media, and the general public

The NGOs have worked on making gender violence a social problem by attempting to engage local authorities, governmental institutions, business sectors, the media, and the public. For example, Centre Maria states that it is committed to ‘encourage formation of social acceptance and tolerance towards differences, respect towards suffering and irreconcilability towards violence in its all forms’ and to ‘make the community aware of the problems of domestic violence’ (Centre Maria, 2008, my translation). There has been a particular focus on promoting ‘non-victimising attitudes towards victims’ (Animus, 2008) and on rising public awareness of domestic violence (Center of Women's Studies and Policies, 2006).

NGOs in Bulgaria conduct training on domestic violence and the implementation of the Law with members of the police, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, district inspectors, social workers,

journalists, child protection agencies and NGO consultants and representatives (Advocates for Human Rights, 2008: 49, Center of Women's Studies and Policies, 2004; Women's Association Ekaterina Karavelova, 2003). Gender violence and sexual violence have been put at the centre of public attention through various media campaigns, including the annual international campaign '16 days against Violence', which Bulgarian NGOs have taken part in since 1997. Some of the messages of the campaign through the years have been: 'Stop Silence!', 'Domestic violence is not a private issue', 'Domestic violence is a violation of human rights!', 'A law against domestic violence – an alternative to powerlessness' (National Network for Equal Opportunities, 2004: 54), and 'Violence against women is a crime. Where is the punishment?' (WAD, 2003: 3). Media coverage is used by NGOs to inform the public about domestic violence and the legal rights of victims, and efforts are made for facilitation of 'appropriate and responsible reporting on domestic violence issues' (Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2008: 57). According to a report by Open Society:

Such campaigns in Bulgaria proved to be very powerful lobbying tools: three of the most significant gender-sensitive laws (the Act on Discrimination, the Act on Trafficking and the Act on Domestic Violence) were adopted after such events. (Open Society, 2007: 62)

Some of the demands that the NGOs made in relation to domestic violence have been focused on: social and healthcare reform that would increase community based anti-violence programmes and funding, that would recognise the specific needs of different victim groups, and would include engagement with various institutions (Association 'Animus', 2008: 1).

Trafficking

Trafficking is another main area of activism of Bulgarian women that has been at the centre of both common actions against violence and of specific anti-trafficking projects and initiatives. Bulgaria is a point of origin, and transit, and to a lesser extent a destination, for trafficking (BGRF, 2008b: 2). Particular issues, as identified in a recent report of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (2008b), include the trafficking of women and children – including children from the Roma minority group – and the trafficking of babies.

The Government policy on trafficking prevention during the period between 1996 and 2001 was part of actions against organised crime (Stoykova, 2007: 57) and there was no separate legislation

on trafficking. During this period the NGO sector was implementing projects on ‘helping, sheltering and re-integration of victims of trafficking as part of their support of victims of violence’ (Stoykova, 2007: 57). The policy changed in 2002 when trafficking was defined as criminal offence against the person in the Penal Code, followed by the drafting and adoption of a separate Law on Countering Trafficking in Human Beings (2003) (Stoykova, 2007: 57). This change of policy was ‘highly influenced by international factors’ such as the European Commission and International Organisation of Migration (Stoykova, 2007: 57). Since the adoption of this legislation, the activities around issues of trafficking have been focused on two main aspects: the struggle against sexual exploitation of children, and debates on prostitution and its legalisation (Stoykova, 2007: 57).

There have been various demands by women’s activism in relation to trafficking. These have addressed wider social problems seen as indirect causes of trafficking, as well as more specific demands. Some of these relate to the rights of the victims: for protection of all victims, not only those who collaborate with the prosecution; better access to shelters and healthcare; more measures for the reintegration of victims; mechanisms for victim compensation; greater protection of witnesses in trafficking court cases (Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation (BGRF), 2008b); and the de-stigmatisation of victims of trafficking (WAD, 2003).

Other demands were for various legal changes, for example: for greater penalties for trafficking and for assistance of trafficking; for more active anti-corruption measures against state officials supporting trafficking (BGRF, 2008b); for quicker procedure for deprivation of parental rights and easier procedures for foster parenting (National Network for Equal Opportunities, 2004); for changes that would criminalise the use of services of victims of trafficking, and would shorten the period of continuance of court procedures; and changes that would make the use of evidence collected in other countries easier (Centre for Women’s Research and Policies, 2008a). There were also demands for legal recognition of trafficking as ‘slave labour’ (WAD, 2003: 2-3). The present measures against mothers who ‘sell’ their babies were seen as highly problematic with the argument that without better anti-trafficking measures mothers would become victims (BGRF, 2008b).

The government has been criticised for not offering financial support for centres and shelters for victims of trafficking, for having inconsistent data on trafficking where cases of illegal migration

and of trafficking are not accounted for separately, and for not publishing reports on trafficking (BGRF, 2008b). There have been demands for more effective and long-term measures for prevention of trafficking through a national strategy focusing on socio-economic rights, education, employment, healthcare, economic opportunities, the minimisation of poverty, and special measures for members of vulnerable groups (BGRF, 2008b; National Network for Equal Opportunities, 2004).

Bulgaria has the largest number of children and youths who have become victims of trafficking in Europe and the trafficked people are mainly poor or of Roma origin (StopVAW, 2008). This reflects on the large number of projects of women's NGOs addressing children and young people, including those from the so-called 'social groups at risk'.

Prostitution

During the past few years the debate on prostitution in Bulgaria became very heated in relation to proposals to legalise prostitution. After the annual meeting of women's NGOs in 2007, an appeal was sent by participants to the government. One of the issues addressed was prostitution. The organisations demanded, firstly, detailed research on prostitution to be carried out outlining the number of female and male prostitutes, the social characteristics of the prostitutes and their clients, and the relationship between prostitution, domestic violence and trafficking. Secondly, they demanded a detailed analysis of the existing legislation in European countries to be made. Thirdly, that an analysis is carried out of the extent to which change in legislation can contribute 'to the prevention and the limitation of the phenomenon and its socially negative outcomes and if this would not lead to the violation of basic human rights'. Finally, they demanded a working group to include members of NGOs (CWSP, 2007a: 1). The same text expresses the objection of the activists against some changes in the Penal Code from October 2006 after which the higher penalty for forcing people into prostitution in some particular cases was removed. These cases were: committing this crime more than once; if the crime is committed by a person involved in a criminal group; if the victim is under the age of 18, or has mental impairment; and if there is more than one victim. Prior to the changes, the penalties in the above mentioned cases were higher. The only case that remained was persuasion to prostitution with the use of drugs. The maximum penalty was reduced from twelve to three years. According to the appeal this change created a public 'scandal'. They demand the higher penalties be restored (CWSP, 2007a: 1).

The first time the issue of prostitution was addressed was in 2005 when a coalition of several women's organisations sent a joint appeal against the plans for legalisation of the Minister of Interior (Bulgarian Gender Equality Coalition, 2005). The petition was signed by the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation, Association 'Demetra', the Gender Project for Bulgaria Association, The Women's Association 'Ekaterina Karavelova', and the Bulgarian platform at the European Women's Lobby. The text of the petition suggests that:

[...] prostitution is hardly ever a free choice of many of the women involved in it. Besides this, once caught in prostitution, they are subject to cruel exploitation (Bulgarian Gender Equality Coalition, 2005: 1)

The platform points out that economic hardship in the country forces many women into prostitution.

There is no organisation of sex workers in Bulgaria (Dimova, 2006) which can represent their rights and make demands; the issues related to prostitution are represented by women's organisations. For example, The Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation is at present carrying out a project on 'Challenging Legislation and Regulation of the Sex Industry in Bulgaria and Romania' (2007-2008) in an attempt to challenge what they perceive as an 'increasing trend' in legislative proposals to separate prostitution and trafficking through the legalisation of prostitution. BGRF suggests that:

State-sponsored prostitution creates a safe haven for traffickers and pimps, and does nothing to lessen the routine abuse, violence and degradation experienced by women in prostitution. It would be unfortunate if Bulgaria goes down this road and changes to desirable tourist destination, not because of its nature, hospitality and history, but because of providing its wives, daughters and sons at the cheapest price (BGRF, 2008a, p 1).

For the time being, the debate around prostitution has settled down after a parliamentary decision from the end of 2008 not to legalise prostitution (DnesBG, 2008).

1.4. Conclusions

The historical review of the women's movement's demands and actions in relation to intimate life has revealed that there have been three main shifts in discourses about intimate life. These shifts correspond to three different stages of historic development of Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian women's movement. The first period started at the mid 19th century and continued until 1945 when the movement was unified under the control of the state. The main issues and demands during this first period related to political and economic citizenship. For example, the earliest demands were for education (especially access to high school and university), for voting rights, access to some of the prestigious professions, for equal pay, and the political representation of women. The intimate citizenship demands during this period were not central concerns for the women's movement. However, their role in defining women's position within society and within intimate relationships was very important. The intimate citizenship demands aimed at achieving greater equality for women within marriage and independence within relationships. This is expressed through claims for entering marriage in free will, keeping one's nationality and surname within wedlock, equality of children born within and outside a marital union.

The claims and demands of the movement quickly changed with the start of the socialist period in the country (1944-1989). The prompt adoption of the Decree on the Equality of Women and Men in 1944, which officially granted equal rights of women in all areas of life, meant that the agenda of the movement was to change. The unification of the existing organisations, their dependence on state policy, and the commitment to the idea that the women's 'question' was solved, resulted in a restriction of the demands and actions that organised women could undertake during socialism. The focus was on economic rights, work-life balance, the promotion of motherhood, and the creation of a 'socialist mentality'. The focus was on individual obligations and responsibility, rather than on rights and freedoms, and intimate citizenship entered the spotlight for organised women, with key issues on their agenda including marriage and relationships between intimate partners, motherhood, fatherhood, and parenting.

The women's Committee, being close to state policy, was involved in the creation of new morality and new type of personal relationships based on proclaimed gender equality, or the so-

called ‘socialist way of life’ (Brunnbauer, 2008). This involved the creation of a new ethics of intimacy through a patronising and moralising discourse of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ that intervened in the intimate individual world. The body was considered not individual but public property, as Popova (2004) suggests, and all practices related to the body, including sexuality, reproduction, and beauty, were politicised, regulated, and became part of the ‘new socialist way of life’. The Women’s Committee raised demands for support of the marital institution, which was seen as protecting women’s interests. These intimate/marital relationships were related to ideas of the independent selfhood of individuals – including women – of financial autonomy, and autonomy within relationships.

The promotion of motherhood as a ‘social duty to bear and rear the ‘socialist citizens of the future’ (Einhorn, 1993: 40) was emphasised as in other socialist countries. Motherhood was seen as a ‘substantial condition for complete fulfilment of women’s personality’ (Committee of Bulgarian Women, 1973: 4) during the whole socialist period, but even more so from the beginning of the 1970s (Popova, 2004; Vodenicharov, 2004). Fatherhood was much less discussed separately from the general discussions about responsible parenting. In this way organised women during socialism replicated the egalitarian discourse of the government and contributed to the creation of intimate life as a politicised sphere. Even though ideas about intimate relationships did not reproduce the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model, they were still focused on the heterosexual couple with children, which was the main pillar of intimate citizenship during socialism.

The final period of women’s activism in Bulgaria started in 1989 with the ‘NGOization of feminism’ (Lang, 1997) and a shift away from the preceding collective mobilisation. The actions of the women’s organisations became less dependent on the state and more enmeshed in the European and global women’s agenda. The focus of Bulgarian women’s organisations during the last period has been on gender-fair citizenship, and intimate citizenship is increasingly addressed as part of this. The most important process here is the general reshaping of ideas about family forms and intimate relationships, in which women’s activism has taken part. One of the most significant shifts in discourses about intimate life of the women’s organisations has been the inclusion of children’s rights and fathers’ rights in the discussion of parenthood and the

redefinition of gender and sexual violence as an important social intimate citizenship issue, rather than as a personal matter.

In conclusion, I want to suggest that from the four dimensions of intimate citizenship, the ones that have been important for the Bulgarian women's movement are partnership, reproductive rights and parenting, and gender and sexual violence. The issues that have been addressed most thoroughly and consistently during the period under study are partnering and parenting, although different aspects of these were important during different stages. Better welfare protection for women, state provision of childcare, and the socialisation of domestic labour were the most central issues during socialism, while during the post-socialist period the protection of children's rights, participation of fathers in childcare, and overall gender equality provisions were the key issues after 1989. Gender and sexual violence, on the other hand, appears to be a predominantly post-socialist phenomenon and is the dimension where women's activism has had the greatest contribution to legislation and policy. The language in which the women's 'movement' spoke is also considerably different: it shifted away from rights and responsibilities towards equality, non-discrimination, and human rights.

Sexual politics is the only dimension that has not been addressed by the women's movement, and has only recently been raised by other movements for gender and sexual equality and change. The women's activism so far has not taken on board any issues related to the rights of same-sex couples to partnership recognition, parenting (adoption, assisted conception), non-discrimination, and so on. Therefore, the Bulgarian women's movement has remained exclusively occupied with heterosexual relationships, and children have played an important part in the women's movement's demands and actions in relation to intimate life.

1.5. Organisations of and for Roma and Turkish Women and Intimate Citizenship

1.5.1. Roma Women

According to the Roma Programme Director at Open Society, Maria Metodieva, towards the end of 2007 there were over 6000 NGOs registered as working towards Roma integration (Fileva, 2007). These organisations are usually established spontaneously, financed by short-term projects and very few of them manage to remain active for a long time (Fileva, 2007; Spirova, 2000: 9). A large proportion of these cease to exist after their funding from the first project finishes (Fileva, 2007).

The NGOs working on Roma issues have most actively focused on the overall improvement of the Romas' situation in Bulgaria (Spirova, 2000: 9). The main activities have been in access to education, higher employment, improvement of housing conditions, access to healthcare, social integration (Kolev et al, 2007: 7), promotion of Roma culture, protection against discrimination and violence, and mainstreaming of Roma issues.

During the past several years the Roma NGO sector has been unified in demanding a more active role for Roma organisations in the implementation of government policy towards Roma, and access to EU funds (Centre 'Amalipe', 2007). A campaign in 2006 and 2007 was lead by 47 Roma NGOs who sought the inclusion of Roma issues in strategic documents and in funding programmes (Kolev et al, 2007: 10). They also demanded Roma integration to be made one of the priorities of key programmes such as the National Employment Plan for Action in 2008 (Centre 'Amalipe', 2007). A letter of protest was sent from 53 Roma organisations to the Commission for Roma Integration, protesting against their exclusion from the discussions of the Roma Integration Framework (Centre 'Amalipe', 2007; SEGA, 2007).

Within all these demands, women's issues have remained at the margin of NGO activism, and intimate citizenship issues even more so. Attention remains to be paid to the problems of Roma women facing inequality in all main spheres compared to Roma men, and to majority women (National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Demographic Issues, 2008: 47).

The centre 'Amalipe', which is one of the biggest Roma organisations in the country, has selected Roma women's issues as one of its priority areas. They have developed a programme, 'The Roma Woman', aiming at raising the awareness of institutions and society about the issue of equality for Roma girls and women. Through this programme the organisation places the following demands (Krumova, 2008):

- For a government policy for the improvement Roma women's situation, with the participation of all institutions and organisations working in the area: gender relations in the Roma community to be included in the University curriculum in the multiculturalism modules; gender aspects to be included in the Roma education programmes as part of the 'Development of Human Resources' programme;
- Increasing the level of education of Roma women: working with Roma parents 'targeted at overcoming culturally-determined obstacles'; recognition of skills acquired outside schools and implementation of follow-up education opportunities which are 'taking into consideration the engagements of the woman-mother' (Krumova, 2008); increasing the number of Roma women with secondary and higher education.
- Higher participation of Roma women at the labour market: measures against high unemployment; 'overcoming the stereotypical image of Roma women in relation to work occupation';
- Active participation of Roma women in social life: more Roma women in public administration in all levels; programmes and training for leadership skills in Roma women; building of positive role models.
- Roma gender mainstreaming

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

There are various Roma and non-Roma organisations working on sexual and reproductive health and family planning in the Roma community. This seems to be one of the main areas of intimate citizenship addressed by NGOs. The government has also adopted a 'Health Strategy for People in Unequal Position from the Ethnic Minorities (2005). The programme includes activities related

to Roma women and children's health, reproductive health and education, family planning, domestic violence against women from the Roma minoritised group (Open Society, 2008b: 63).

The Association of Roma Women and Children, 'Hope' (Сдружение на Ромските жени и деца 'Надежда'), often carries out projects focused on health, reproduction and family planning. They have organised educational seminars on the consequences of early marriages, family planning, children's health, violence against women and children (Open Society, 2002). The NGO assists pregnant Roma women in finding jobs in order that they can be entitled to paid maternity leave, and helps homeless Roma children to find a place in childcare institutions. Association 'Hope' also opened a few health centres for Roma women as part of one of its projects (Open Society, 2002). The Women's Roma Association 'Good Mother' is another that has dedicated part of its work on Roma women's and children's health, and also on improving the quality of life and social status of Roma women, education, and unemployment (EthnosBG, 2004). The Association of Roma Women and Children (Дружество на ромските жени и деца) and the Foundation for Regional Development, 'Roma-Plovdiv' (Фондация за регионално развитие "Рома – Пловдив"), have worked together to offer sex education in the Roma Community in Plovdiv, and have opened a health centre for women (Fund for Prevention of Crime, 2008).

The Centre 'Amalipe' has raised demands related to better access for Roma women to healthcare; a government programme for prevention of 'early pregnancies', as well as 'abandonment of children'; for the organisation of information campaigns targeted at Roma women; and for more women to be appointed as health mediators for the Roma community. All these are part of their 'The Roma Woman' platform. As part of another platform of 'Amalipe', the 'Prevention of Children's and Mothers' Health and Sexually Transmitted Diseases' (STD), the NGO works on other intimate citizenship issues. The demands are for more government measures for reducing child mortality, improvement of health condition of young mothers, actions for prevention and early diagnosis of STDs, and measures to improve family planning in Roma communities. These health issues have been at the centre of attention of a unified action by about fifteen Roma NGOs in October 2008. They made a demand for the 'creation of a mechanism for collaboration between institutions and the NGO sector for health status improvement of the Roma community' (Centre 'Amalipe', 2008).

Another Roma organisation that addressed women's sexual and reproductive health was 'Support for the Roma 2000' (Подкрепа за Ромите 2000) in the project 'Roma Swallows' (2006). The project aimed at increasing Roma women's motivation, self-confidence, and raising 'awareness about women's rights as an inseparable part of human rights' (Bulgarian Fund for Women, 2006). One of the modules of the project was focused on health education, and included seminars on sexually transmitted diseases, the use of contraceptives, and the role of women and girls in Roma communities. Another module focused on women's rights, where domestic violence and discrimination were discussed.

The funding for this project came from the Bulgarian Fund for Women, which implemented a programme 'Roma women's NGOs – active members of Civil Society in Bulgaria' (2005-2006). The aims of the programme were to enrich the capacity of Roma women's NGOs through training and financing their activities in the community; to increase the role of Roma women and girls in overcoming the social isolation of the Roma community and 'in the development of harmonious intra-ethnic relationships', and finally, encouraging collaboration between the different ethnic groups through inclusion of active Roma and non-Roma women in consolidation of Roma civil structures (Bulgarian Fund for Women, 2006). Twelve Roma women's NGOs were included in training for writing grant applications and six of them received funding for carrying out projects.

One of the grants was given to a project on the reproductive and sexual health of Roma women and health of young children carried out by Foundation 'Ethnic Integration' (Фондация Етноинтеграция). The project included lectures on health and hygiene of young children; reproductive health, intimate hygiene, and family planning; pregnancy, birth, post-natal care, breastfeeding and immunisations. As a result of the project, it is suggested that 'the participants in the project have developed readiness to look after their health, not to accept phenomena such as discrimination, domestic violence, and disrespect for Roma people and women as individuals' (Bulgarian Fund for Women, 2006: 6). Another project focusing on health was aimed at prevention and early diagnosis of breast cancer and was carried out by the Roma Women's Independent Organisation 'Lachshi Romani' (Ромска женска независима организация 'Лачши Романи').

There also was a project ‘Weekly School on Knowledge and Skills for Mothers’ carried out by Foundation ‘Ethno-Cultural Dialogue’ (Етнокултурен Диалог) which focused on parenting. The activities within the project included educational sessions and training related to first aid in case of accidents at home; prevention of sexually transmitted diseases; family planning, child education, etc.

Open Society Sofia is another non-government organisation offering grants to and working with Roma organisations. Open Society initiated a Programme, ‘Roma’, in 1996 aimed at inclusion of Roma NGOs and experts in policy-making and at integration of Roma people into social and political life. One branch of this programme is dedicated to the health status of the Bulgarian Roma (Open Society, 2008). There have been various projects and activities funded through this programme. ‘Medicins Sans Frontiers’ is another international organisation that has also worked in Roma communities on a project on health, part of which was focused on reproductive and sexual health (Open Society, 2002).

There are Bulgarian non-Roma organisations working on Roma reproductive health. The Bulgarian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association (Българска асоциация по семейно планиране и сексуално здраве) has carried out two projects related to Roma reproductive health: a project on reproductive Health, Health and Sex Education for the Roma Population in Bulgaria’ was implemented between 1998 and 2000, which included the opening of three family planning centres in Roma communities, working with several schools attended predominantly by Roma pupils on educational seminars on reproductive and sexual health, and the filming of a short documentary (Open Society, 2002). A second project started in 2003 to support the existing health centres in several Roma communities (Bulgarian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association, 2007). There are also organisations that have Roma health and reproductive practices as main areas of activity, for example Foundation ‘Health Problems of the Minorities’ (Фондация ‘Здравни проблеми на малцинствата’). Some of their projects were on ‘Health and Sexual Education of Roma People in Sliven’ (1999-2000), and ‘Sex and Health Education of Young Parents and Children’ (2000) (Open Society, 2002).

Another organisation working on reproductive rights and parenting in relation to the ethnic minority groups has focused on adoption. The Association ‘Sauchastie’ (Varna) working towards the integration and personal development of vulnerable young people, has developed a project for

the adoption of Roma children (2008). The aim of their project is to help young Roma families to adopt Roma children raised in care institutions. The association organises training sessions for parents wanting to adopt Roma children and facilitates the faster adoption of institutionalised children (C.E.G.A., 2008: 7). Abandoned children are one of the target groups of the Association 'Obnovlenie' which was established in 1998 and works for the protection of the human rights of the Roma minority group, its social integration, education and access to social services (Ethnos BG, 2004b). In a project 'Prevention of Abandonment of Children from High-Risk Communities' (2002-2003) the organisation assisted poor Roma families in sending their children to nurseries and schools.

Gender and Sexual Violence

The Women's Association 'Liliak' (Женско сдружение Лиляк) won another of the grants provided by the Bulgarian Fund for Women with a project on rising awareness and creating intolerance towards domestic violence in a local Roma community. According to the findings every second Roma woman was a victim of domestic violence and there was very little knowledge about the rights of victims. Roma women also had very little contribution to family decision-making. As a result of the project, two Roma women sought consultation regarding their rights and one of them initiated court procedures with the help of the Association 'Naia'. A team of representatives from the local community was created to help further prevent domestic violence.

Violence against Roma children has been addressed by the organisation Indi-Roma 97 which developed a project 'Volunteers Programme in Aid of Children Victims of Violence' (2002-2003) with the support of the American youth mentoring organization Big Brothers/Big Sisters. The project was aimed at offering help to children in care institutions.

Roma women have been integrated into the anti-violence programmes of The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation. During the one-year project 'Campaign for Prevention of Violence against Women' (2000), a documentary, *Unspoken Silence*, about domestic violence in the Roma, Turkish and Muslim communities, was made and shown on national television. During the next year, within the *Domestic Violence in Bulgaria* project, the NGO organised seminars with Roma women in the towns of Vratsa and Oryahovo focusing on domestic violence. The participants

saw the film, were presented with the results from sociological research on domestic violence, and discussed the specific issues of concern for ethnic groups. The draft law on Protection against Domestic Violence was also presented (The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation, 2004).

Another organisation working on issues related to Roma women is The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation. This is a majority women's organisation working on gender equality which also integrates ethnic minority issues within several of its programmes, for example on domestic violence (2001), and women's poverty and unemployment (2003). The foundation implemented two programmes 'Roma Women Can Do It' (2003 and 2005), part of the regional project of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force, and 'Roma Women in Bulgaria – Active and Successful' (2006-2008) focused on the empowerment of Roma women and their better representation in decision-making at the national and local level. The focus on Roma women's issues was prompted by the fact that Roma women were:

subject to multiple discrimination inside their own community and outside of it, in the larger society. They live in an environment that limits their chance for development and empowerment and is generally unsupportive, so it is crucially important to initiate a process for overcoming limitations (The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation, 2008: 6).

The Director of the organisation also suggested that the creation of Roma-only NGOs could be a factor contributing to the further marginalisation and isolation of this ethnic group, whilst working on Roma issues in joint multi-ethnic organisations and activities appears much more promising and a better way to achieve integration (Hajimitova, 2008: 3). Several Roma NGOs were partners in the project: Association 'Slantse' (Kiustendil), Foundation Ethnic Integration (Dupnitsa), Association Development and Support for Roma Women and Children (Lom), Association of Roma Women and Children (Plovdiv), and the Association for Social, Cultural and Educational Development of Minority Groups in Bulgaria (Shumen).

At the end of the project 'Roma Women Can', a declaration was sent demanding various government and non-government bodies take active part in the following activities:

- Increasing sensitivity towards gender equality in the Roma community;
- Better access to education of Roma women;
- Training and support of Roma women to take more active part in public social life;

- Increasing the number of Roma women- experts in local and national authorities;
- Greater participation of Roma women in policy and decision making

The Centre of Women's Studies and Policies is another majority women's NGO that has worked on Roma women's issues. The project 'National Empowerment Initiative for Minority Women at Risk' (2004) was aimed at providing Roma women at risk from several regions in Bulgaria with practical skills and knowledge for more effective self-representation and better access to the decision-making process at both local and national levels (CWSP, 2004).

The foundation Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives (C.E.G.A) working for the equal integration of disadvantaged communities into social life has focused on the Roma minority group as one of its priorities. Its programme activities include training, technical assistance, support in fundraising, and monitoring of the implementation of plans for integration of the Roma communities at municipal, regional and national level. C.E.G.A. initiated an awareness rising campaign 'Put Yourself in My Place' with ten other organisations, most of them focused on Roma issues. The message of the campaign was 'the right to development of everyone, regardless of his/her origin and state, the right to be different and equal as Gipsy, homosexual, vegetarian, just being oneself' (C.E.G.A., 2007a: 4). Over thirty schools and nurseries in ten Bulgarian cities took part in the campaign with discussions, essays, drawing competitions, sports events, and so on. In an attempt to raise awareness about different forms of inequalities, C.E.G.A. started publishing a page in its periodical publication with the logo of the campaign and the following text: 'I'm Gipsy. I'm a lesbian. I'm disabled. I'm a beggar. I'm Muslim. I'm old. I'm ill. I'm Jewish. I have a problem. I have nowhere to live. Before avoiding me, insulting me, or hating me... put yourself in my place' (C.E.G.A., 2007a).

1.5.2. Turkish Women

There is much less information on non-governmental activities of and for Turkish women related to intimate citizenship. The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation (BGRF) is one of the majority women's organisations that address Turkish women's issues in its programmes. Within the 'Women Can Do It-II' (2002) project, BGRF organised a seminar for women from the Turkish minority group, and for members of the political party Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). The aim was to analyze the women's place in the party leadership, to

encourage Turkish women to participate more actively in public and political life, and to increase the number of Turkish women in the Parliament and the local authorities.

Part II – Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change in Bulgaria

Partnership

The claims and demands of the women's organisations in relation to partnership and the proposal for a new Family Code (2008) were discussed in the previous section, but other organisations also took part in the heated public debates. A group of twenty two pro-family NGOs – the biggest being the Association 'Society and Values' and the Association 'Parents' – organised a protest meeting after the Code was approved at the first reading. The NGOs expressed concerns that 'the changes will lead to legalisation of polygamy, an increase in divorces, and official withdrawal of state from the protection of marriage as a union' (Darik News, 2008b), and that the proposed text could easily be changed later to allow same-sex couples to have registered cohabitation rights and to adopt children together (Darki News, 2008a). The NGOs requested a five-year moratorium on any changes in the Family Code (Standart, 2008).

The same group of organisations sent a petition to the Parliament in April 2008 when the proposal was discussed at the Council of Ministers. The text suggests that the changes represent 'legalisation of social irresponsibility' and that 'stable marriages provide economic, physical, emotional, and psychological benefits for men, women, and children, which de facto unions cannot give' (Association 'Society and Values', 2008, no page). De facto unions are presented as 'short-lived' unions, where domestic violence 'occurs much more often than violence among married couples and in practice these [cohabiting] couples do not resemble family in almost any way' (Association 'Society and Values', 2008, no page). The petition makes several demands: for research on the necessity of such changes and the extent to which Bulgarian society is prepared for such changes; for a wide public debate discussion about the positive and negative outcomes of the proposed changes; for a discussion involving all political parties; and for opposition to the changes.

The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church, the Mufti Office, and the Catholic Exarchate announced their objection to the proposed changes; the Synod demands recognition of religious marital ceremonies (Monitor, 2008).

A strong reaction against the proposed changes was expressed also by the Bulgarian Gay Organisation 'Gemini', based on very different grounds – that the proposals discriminate against same-sex couples. 'Gemini' sent a proposal for changes to the Family Code to the Parliament and the Ministry of Justice in March 2008, suggesting that 'it is necessary to make specific changes in the definition of the new institutional de facto union and all legal consequences from it so that discrimination against same-sex couples and their children would be avoided' (BGO Gemini, 2008c: 1). The organisation made two specific proposals for changes. Firstly, cohabitation should be defined as existing between 'two partners regardless of their sex', which would allow same-sex couples to register as cohabiting. And secondly, for the 'second parent' of the child, instead of 'the father' to be considered the partner of the mother, when the child is born within a cohabiting union or within 300 days after the termination of the union. The second change would allow same-sex partners to have parental rights over the biological children of the other partner. The organisation argued that the proposed changes to the Family Code were against the provisions of the Law on Protection against Discrimination (2004), and do not correspond to a contemporary understanding of 'family', and to the current international law, such as the Resolution on Equal Rights for Homosexuals and Lesbians in the EC (OJ, 1994, C 61/40), the Resolution on Respect for Human Rights in the European Union (1998-9), and the Resolution on Homophobia in Europe (2007).

In June 2008 'Gemini' organised the first gay pride in Bulgaria under the motto 'Me and My Family' in support of the right of same-sex families to be legally recognised. The reactions were very polarised, but homophobic responses seemed to be stronger and there were violent outbursts against the 200 participants on the parade. Firecrackers, cocktail 'Molotovs', and stones were thrown at the people on the gay march. More than eighty people were arrested for violence, including the leader of a Bulgarian nationalist organisation. The parade was guided by about 100 police officers and no participants in the march were injured. However, the organisers of the parade received numerous life threats both before and after the march (Darik News, 2008c; personal meetings with BGO 'Gemini').

BGO 'Gemini' sent a letter to the Commission against Discrimination in relation to the proposed Family Code changes. The conclusion of the Commission was that the text of the code is

discriminatory. After the first reading of the Code, ‘Gemini’ sent an open letter to the Chairpersons of the National Assembly and the Judicial Committee suggesting that:

From judicial and moral points of view such limitation is unjust and represents discrimination against Bulgarian citizens based on their sexual orientation [...] Homosexual Bulgarian citizens are part of the public, they are tax-payers and voters, and have the right to demand to be granted equality. (BGO Gemini, 2008b, no page, my translation)

An article published on the web site of the organisation analyses the main arguments put forward within a wide public discussion on the denial of legal recognition of same-sex relationships. The most common argument, it suggests, is that marriage is a union between a man and a woman, as the Constitution and the Family Code explicitly state. Other arguments include: same-sex couples are not the best environment for raising children; gay relationships are immoral; marriage concerns procreation and the continuation of the human race; legal recognition of same-sex relationships is a threat to the institution of marriage; legal recognition of same-sex relationships gives special rights to people in such relationships (BGO ‘Gemini’, 2008a).

One of the first attempts of the LGBT sector to address the legal recognition of same-sex couples came from the organisation BGO ‘Gemini’ in their media campaigns of 2004 (Pisankaneva and Panayotov, 2005) and Queer Bulgaria. These negotiated with the political party Novoto Vreme during the pre-election campaign, for the party to agree to represent gay rights in parliament (BourgasInfo, 2005) and to propose changes to existing legislation. The informal lesbian group BG Lesbian also published opinions and demands on its web page in 2004 related to recognition of cohabitation, which I discuss in more detail later.

More recently, the Bulgarian Socialist Youth issued a declaration in support of the rights of gay couples to be treated equally by the new Family Code (Bulgarian Socialist Youth, 2008: 1). The declaration reads:

We express our concern and indignation at this manifest action of de facto discrimination against Bulgarian citizens on the grounds of sex and sexual orientation [...] [D]iscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is strictly forbidden. Nobody, least of all the state through its institutions, can put Bulgarian citizens in unequal position (Bulgarian Socialist Youth, 2008: 1, my translation).

The revisions of the Family Code have become an important issue defining intimate citizenship and have created what can best be described as the most heated public debate on intimacy since the beginning of the period under research. The discussions have included various perspectives including the government, representatives of different religions, women's, pro-family, and LGBT organisations, which have made the debate considerably diverse and also somewhat tense. Within this debate the women's organisations have occupied a more balanced position, whilst most of the other organisations for gender and sexual equality and change have been more radical in either rejecting or demanding changes. Most importantly, this recent discussion represents a process of re-thinking of family relationships and of intimate citizenship.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Issues concerning reproductive rights and parenting are at the centre of the recent initiatives of a large number of pro-family organisations. In 2006 a group of pro-family organisations demanded government measures in relation to a wide range of problems faced by children, which they identified as: the large number of homeless children and children brought up in institutions; trafficking of children, prostitution, and forced labour; and the difficulties in accessing education and social benefits by children from ethnic minoritised groups and disabled children (Association of Present and Future Mothers, 2006). The organisations demanded 'decisive and urgent measures from all institutions for solving these problems' (Association of Present and Future Mothers, 2006: 1).

The NGOs made the following specific demands:

- The problems of children to become government priority number one for the following five years;
- the creation of a policy for solving the problems of children and families, and an institutional body responsible for this to be established. The coalition asked for a pronatalist policy, granting 'less troublesome upbringing of children', support of infertile couples, parents of disabled children, and measures for crimes against children;
- regulation of the status of cohabiting couples and their legal separation from single parents;

- higher parental leave benefits: during the first year the caring parent should receive 80% of the combined average income of the two parents divided by two, which they received during the last six months prior the birth, but not less than 250 leva; and 60% of the same amount during the second year, but not less than 180 leva. Single parents to receive 100% of the average of their income received during the last six months prior to childbirth, but not less than 300 leva for the first year; and 80% of the same amount for the second year, but not less than 250 leva;
- the benefits for birth of more than one child to be multiplied by the number of children; the amount of the benefit for subsequent pregnancies to be linked to the average salary, not to the minimum;
- higher child benefits equal to 50 leva, regardless of the income of the parents, to be given only if no children of each parent is left in an institution and all children in school age attend school regularly, and if the child has an impairment, the age/ stage of development should be recognised;
- additional support of 50 leva for full-time students with children;
- implementation of family taxing;
- ratification of the Convention for Working from Home and drafting a law on domestic labour.
- building new children's play areas and the preservation of the existing ones;
- a wide range of demands related to infertility: recognition of infertility as a health problem; research on the number of infertile couples; urgent adoption of a national strategy for prevention and treatment of infertility; a strategy for prevention of the social behaviour leading to reproductive problems; introducing andrology as a distinct speciality for urology doctors and including 'male infertility' on the list of diagnoses of treatment expenses covered by the state; more tests and treatment procedures to be covered by the health insurance; improvement of the programme for women's infertility 'In Vitro': at least 2000 people per year to be treated; the ban from a second IVF attempt to be removed and each family to be entitled to at least three procedures; maximising the funding by using cheaper drugs; reproductive health classes to be included in high school curriculums aiming at prevention of STDs and abortions upon request;

- A profession ‘parent of a child with impairment’ to be introduced with all entitlements including security benefits, paid maternity leave;
- Entitlement to earlier retirement of mothers of three or more children, ‘who have provided quality care for all their children in family environment’

The NGOs organised a protest demonstration in support of their demands in July 2006.

In addition to this, one of the main organisers of the campaign, the Association of Present and Future Mothers, also initiated a campaign in support of single parenting in 2008. The main demand was for higher social benefits for single parents that would ‘correspond to the living standard in the country’. The NGO also initiated actions in support of the equal treatment of parents with twins under the slogan ‘for a few lives one womb is enough, for a few children – one wallet is not’ (Association Present and Future Mothers, 2007). The organisation demanded entitlements given to mothers and parents with one child to be multiplied by the number of children. A proposition for higher maternity allowance made by the organisation after a wide round table discussion was put forward by several MPs but was rejected by the parliamentary commission (2007). However, there were several other changes in legislation: the lump sum payment at childbirth was raised to 600 leva and mothers who give birth to twins receive a double amount, if a first or second birth; the child benefit for a twin child raised from 25 to 37.5 leva per month. The amount payable to a carer looking after twins within the government programme ‘In Support of Motherhood’ was also increased to 300 leva, and twins were given priority in nursery enrolment lists in Sofia (Association Present and Future Mothers, 2007). Some of the most recent demands of the NGO relating to mothers of twins were for higher maternity allowances, programmes for support for domestic chores, priority in nursery enrolment in the whole country, and discount for food from state-run children’s food distribution centres, if more than one child from the family is using its services.

There have been different demands for related legislative changes and support for the so-called families with many children. These are families with three or more children and the demands have been put forward by organisations such as Association ‘Parents’ (Асоциация Родители), the ‘Association Present and Future Mothers’, etc. There were demands for parental leave to be considered in retirement entitlements, and the number of children raised to influence the amount

of pension received, the state to act as guarantee for families with three or more children when they want to have a loan (Dnevnik, 2006), demands for family tax reliefs, for vouchers giving access to different services, such as sports facilities, language courses, computer classes; demands for flexible working time, longer annual leave, and greater entitlements to sick leave (Aktualno, 2006), as well as for wider social acceptance of such families (Kolchagova, 2007).

Much of the activism of the pro-family organisations was focused on children raised in care institutions and related to issues of care, parenting and adoption rights. For example, The Foundation Movement of Bulgarian Mothers (Фондация ‘Движение на българските майки’) initiated a petition demanding ‘urgent measures for shortening the period for refusal of parental rights and deprivation of these rights aiming at quick adoption and respect for the child’s right to life in a family environment’ (Foundation Movement of Bulgarian Mothers, 2007). In addition to this the NGO created several programmes for young people leaving care institutions. Young singles mothers were prioritised in such initiatives. For example, the project ‘Protected Home – Together’ offered accommodation for one year, training and qualification, opportunities to meet employers, and psychological support (Foundation Movement of Bulgarian Mothers, 2008).

Another central issue of some pro-family organisations was access to fertility treatment. There were several organisations working in this area, for example: Bulgarian Association ‘Infertility and Reproductive Health’ (Българска асоциация по стерилитет и репродуктивно здраве), Bulgarian Association Family Planning and Sexual Health (Българска асоциация по семейно планиране и сексуално здраве), Association ‘Conception’ (Сдружение Зачатие), and Foundation I Want a Baby (Фондация Искам бебе). Some of the activities of the organisations were focused on changing the government policy on assisted conception, to allow more people to have treatment, and to grant ‘equal access to the [fertilisation] programme of all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their social and economic status, health, religion, locality and other grounds’ (Zachatie, 2008). There were demands for more transparent procedures and control over them with active participation of NGOs; inclusion of up to three free fertilisation procedures; a detailed register of all procedures performed and medications prescribed to patients; free choice of reproductive centre among those licensed; strict controls over these centres; only procedures conducted in the country to be covered by the programme; 35 million leva from the budget to be used for the programme (Zachatie, 2008); establishment of a fund ‘Assisted Reproduction’ and

annual financing of this fund from the budget. The Council of Ministers approved the creation of 'In Vitro' Fund and extended the number of state-subsidised IVF treatments from one to three per woman (Darik News, 2009).

Another activity was the demand for government policy on the prevention of Spina Bifida. A two-year long initiative under the title '300 Babies More' was organised by Association Conception and Movement of Bulgarian Mothers between 2006 and 2008. The initiative included several campaigns aimed at raising awareness of the lack of existing policy, for example the planting of three hundred flowers (March, 2007), and the decoration of a garden in front of 'Mother's Home' (Майчин Дом), one the largest birth centres in the country. The organisations initiated a petition signed by 700 people in support of the demand for such policy (300 babies More, 2008). According to the NGOs, a national programme for prevention of the illness would result in 300 more healthy babies being born every year. As a result of the campaign the Government adopted a new National Programme for Rare Diseases 2009-2013 for prevention, early diagnosis and optimal treatment for people with inherited and congenital diseases (300 Babies More, 2008).

Reproduction has been addressed by some NGOs that can be identified as health organisations, rather than women's or pro-family. The Bulgarian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association (БФПАНА) is one such organisation that has been working on reproduction and sexual health issues since 1992 (БФПАНА, no date). Their work has mainly been in the areas of youth sex education, contraception and prevention of STDs; HIV/AIDS awareness raising; access to health consultations in the health centres of the organisation; consulting women on abortion upon request and assisting them in finding safe medical help; and lobbying. The association contributed to the drafting of the National Strategy for Prevention of HIV/AIDS, for establishing Roma health mediators, and for inclusion of sex education in the school curriculum (БФПАНА, no date). In relation to abortion it supports 'the right of women to choose and have access to safe and legal abortions' and works towards 'increasing the public and professional engagement with the right to choose and to access' abortion and towards 'popularisation of high-quality and accessible abortion services' (БФПАНА, no date: 1).

The rights of fathers are represented by a relatively new organisation 'Fathers for Responsible Parenting' (Бащи за отговорно родителство). The NGO was involved in the discussions of the

proposal for a new Family Code and the main demands were for equal rights of fathers during and after divorce. 'Fathers for Responsible Parenting' objected that during divorce procedures the court did not recognise that children's opinions could be influenced by one of the parents, who could 'teach children hatred', and demanded that both parents were entitled to equal time to spend with their children, not only during weekends, but also during the week. The NGO was critical of a proposed change that allows children aged 14 to initiate court cases against their parents; they believed that children would be too influenced by their parents. The leader of 'Fathers for Responsible Parenting' appealed for awareness that 'we are divorcing our partners, not our children' and further suggested that 'if in not that distant past people were having the same attitude, now women still would not have the right to vote' (Malezanov, 2008 cited in Centre of Women's Studies and Policies, 2008).

Sexuality: Identities and Practices & LGBT History

The protection and representation of LGBT rights in Bulgaria does not have a long history. The first gay non-governmental organisation, the Bulgarian Gay Organisation 'Gemini', was established in 1992 and during the following years its activities focused mainly on HIV prevention (BGO Gemini, 2007). The first bigger project of the NGO started in 2001 and its aims were to create a 'safe house' for the gay community, to start publishing a monthly bulletin, to create a library, and to initiate self-help groups of LGBT people, regular meetings and socio-cultural activities (BGLesbian, 2004). The first attempts at legislative changes were related to initiatives for the removal of texts from the Penal Code criminalising sexual acts in public places and participating in the drafting of the first Law on Protection against Discrimination (2004). In 2004, BGO 'Gemini' hosted the first international conference on LGBT issues in Bulgaria and launched the first gay radio broadcast in 2006 (BGO 'Gemini', 2007).

As Pisankaneva explains, further NGOs focused on LGBT concerns have only been in existence since 2004:

The establishment of different formal and non-formal organisations of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and transgender is comparatively new phenomenon in Bulgarian civil society. [...] It was believed, until recently, that all homosexual and transgender activists should be united in a single organisation' (Pisankaneva, 2004: 1).

After 2003 the range of organisations expanded with the establishment of the ‘Bilitis’ Resource Centre Foundation, the Queer Bulgaria Foundation, the gay Sports Club ‘Tangra’, and the lesbian sports association BGL-SporTeam, the club ‘For her’. Within the following years the Bulgarian LGBT activism was more successful than ever. The NGOs and sports clubs were involved in making gay identity more visible (Pisankaneva, 2004), and in more effectively protecting the rights of gay people. There were several court cases for discrimination won by Queer Bulgaria and BGO ‘Gemini’, the first of which was against Sofia University for restricting the access of several gay men to a sauna in 2005 (Roseneil et al, 2008).

However, after a few successful years many of the organisations stopped existing or interrupted their activities, while other organisations or clubs were created. For example, Queer Bulgaria, which was for a short period one of the most successful organisations, seized its activities in 2006- 2007 (GayGuide, 2008). For a few years BGO ‘Gemini’ remained the main and most active NGO representing gay rights but it stopped functioning in the spring of 2009 and it remains unclear if it will resume its activities (BGO Gemini, 2009).

At present the main formal and non-formal groups that exist are ‘Bilitis’ Resource Centre Foundation, the recently established non-formal network Bulgarian Activist Alliance, and the gay sports clubs ‘Tangra’ and the ‘Fat Cats’. In spite of the existence of these groups, the Bulgarian LGBT activism seems to be in a crisis. The disappearance of BGO ‘Gemini’ from the scene of the gay activism has left a significant gap that has not been filled in yet. ‘Gemini’ was not only the oldest organisation working on LGBT issues and the organiser of the first gay pride in Bulgaria (2008), but it had established itself as the organisation which was actively making demands for gay rights recognition and which received wide media attention and initiated heated public debates on the subject of legal recognition of same-sex cohabitation. At present, these functions of ‘Gemini’ have not been actively taken up by another organisation.

‘Bilitis’ is starting to make attempts to fill in the existing gap in the LGBT representation and demands-making. When the NGO was established in 2004 it was not involved in rights protection but aimed at ‘assisting the social, educational, cultural, and professional development of lesbians and bisexual women’ and helping them to ‘occupy their deserved position in society that does not depend on their sexuality’ (BG Lesbian, no date: 1). During the first years of its existence the organisation was working for the consciousness-raising and confidence of lesbian

and bisexual women and their fair social integration. 'Bilitis' has also been one of the organisers of the annual Gay and Lesbian Fests in Bulgaria since 2005. The organisation has collaborated with other NGOs for the protection of rights of LGBT people (Pisankaneva, 2004 cited in BG Lesbian, 2004) and it took part in the joint appeal of women's NGOs in 2006, which contained demands for anti-gender discrimination measures. The joint appeal, however, did not include any lesbian issues (CWSP, 2006c). In 2009 'Bilitis' took an active role in the organisation of the second gay pride in Bulgaria and recently expanded its focus to include LGBTI rights protection (Sofia City Court, 2009). 'Bilitis' at present is concerned with the equality, non-discrimination and social integration of LGBTI people, lobbying and rights protection (Sofia City Court, 2009). One of the aims of the activists is to continue the campaign for the legal recognition of same-sex partnership that was initiated by 'Gemini' and to contribute to the prolonged public debate on these issues (Pisankaneva, 2009).

As it was already mentioned, BGO 'Gemini' was, until recently, one of the most active NGO in the area of LGBT rights. It was actively involved in legal protection, in the campaign for legal recognition of same-sex cohabiting, and in various other projects including: SMILE - Sustainable Mobility Initiatives for Local Equality (2007) and GAY = Good As You (2007) on positive images of LGBT, disability, and ethnic minorities; L(obby) T(o) G(ain) B(roader) T(olerance) (2005) on anti-discrimination awareness and network for protecting rights; FLAME- Fair Labor Attitude – Measurable Equality (2006) for non-discrimination at the workplace. BGO 'Gemini' implemented two projects for non-discrimination on the basis of sexuality, ethnicity and disability at schools, 'Deafening Silence' (2007-2008) and 'Coming Out' (2005). It is interesting that in its activities 'Gemini' often addressed not only LGBT issues, but also ethnicity and disability. It seems that the organisation adopted the position of unifying different minority groups and working for their empowerment.

The virtual space of the Internet appears to be the most popular area for LGBT activism in Bulgaria at present. There are many on-line activities taking the form of on-line chats, discussion rooms, LGBT news sites, and dating sites. There is one site dedicated to transgender issues, and numerous personal blogs by LGBT people. There was also an attempt in 2007 to broadcast an on-line radio working towards the social inclusion of LGBT people (LGBT Idea, 2007). Some of these 'spaces' have more popular or entertainment content, while others publish analyses of

LGBT issues and follow current events within Bulgarian activism. These virtual activities are sometimes used to raise demands and to initiate activism. An example of this is the Bulgarian Activist Alliance, which is an informal group of activists working in the field of human rights protection in Bulgaria. This is a newly established network including experts on the issues of LGBT rights, gender equality, disability rights, media ethics and freedom of speech (Bulgarian Activist Alliance, no date: 1). This is another example of activities which are aimed at the protection of various minoritized groups, rather than a separate group. It also points out that LGBT issues are represented as a part of the human rights issues as a whole.

Another example of a non-formal group active on-line is BG Lesbian. This group published on its website several opinions related to intimate citizenship. In 2004 it demanded that the age of consent was raised from 14 to 16 years for all sexual acts, and for non-adults (aged 16-17) to be able to abstain from consent to sexual acts with adults. The argument for this was that 'sexual acts are not only love but also responsibility' and young women are endangered by pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, and are also vulnerable to influences from their adult partners. The non-formal group also demanded legislation to explicitly define sex and to include oral and anal sex in the age of consent. There was also a demand for sex education to be included in the school curriculum and same-sex relationships to be an equal part of the sex education. 'We are convinced that this will contribute a lot to the right upbringing of young people, to breaking the stereotypes creating homophobia and to the [better] attitude towards those who are homosexual' reads the appeal (BG Lesbian, 2004, my translation). Another text discussed the issue of integration of lesbians and suggested that heterosexual people should be integrated into the lesbian community, 'which will show that sexuality is not the meaning of our lives'. It was also believed that lesbians should be coming out and leaving the isolated circles of sexually-defined groups, and should be more accepting of difference, and of bisexual women in particular (BG Lesbian, 2004b).

Another area where this informal group published its opinion is adoption of children:

Homosexual people are not different from heterosexual to any extent. Who you fall in love with and what gender the person with whom you share your life and home is does not make you incapable or more dangerous for a child to a greater extent than all other people (BG Lesbian, 2004c: 1, my translation)

In relation to this the group demanded that same-sex couples could adopt and could become guardians of the partner's children with the agreement of the biological parents. The demands were not for same-sex couples to be allowed to adopt children together because 'as women we biologically have the opportunity to give birth to our own child and nobody can stop us from, forbid us, or restrain us from raising this child in a same-sex family'. The group claims that this is not a special right or demand, but it is a 'necessity that can solve many of the existing problems at present' (BG Lesbian, 2004: 1). It was suggested that the right to adoption was part of the legal recognition of cohabitation, which was another of the demands that BG Lesbian made.

The right to registered cohabitation was linked to the following entitlements that the informal group made: right to property, inheritance, information in cases of hospitalisation or custody; right not to testify against one's partner; right to social benefits, to pension, to family name, family taxing and family health insurance (BG Lesbian, 2004d: 1). The adoption of such law would 'contribute to the development of the whole society' and would be a sign that 'we are confidently on the road to democracy, to European values, of human rights and will show that Bulgaria is looking after every citizen' (BG Lesbian, 2004d: 1). Although all of these positions were published on the web site of the group in 2004 they remained relevant in the context of the policy and legislation discussions related to the draft of the new Family Code that took place between 2006 and 2009. These demands are still the main focus of the gay activism at present.

There have been several unified actions of LGBT organisations. There was a national campaign for the recognition of 17 May as National day against homophobia in 2005, supported by various human rights NGOs, and a 'march of equality' on the same day (BGO 'Gemini', 2005). In 2006 two of the main organisations representing LGBT rights, BGO 'Gemini' and Queer Bulgaria, took part in a collaboration against the homophobic and racist statements of a nationalist political party, and to initiate a court case against its leader. The resulting coalition of more than 60 human rights organisations, 'Citizens against Hatred', won the court case in 2006 (Citizens against Hatred, 2006).

In 2009 a group of organisations worked together to organise the second LGBT pride in Bulgaria under the title 'Rainbow Friendship'. The pride was in support of friendship, tolerance, and acceptance of people (Rainbow Friendship, 2009). The Bulgarian Socialist Youth and the Green Party were the only political groups in Bulgaria that declared their support of the event, which

gathered more participants than the previous year and took place without homophobic attacks (BTV, 2009).

Gender and Sexual Violence

This dimension of intimate citizenship has not been addressed by the other movements for gender and sexual equality and change. Some of the LGBT organisations have carried out projects and campaigns on same-sex rights and anti-discrimination, but issues of gender and sexual violence have not been an explicit part of these campaigns.

Conclusions

Intimate citizenship has been an important issue for the pro-family and conservative organisations, and also for LGBT activists. Partnership, reproductive rights and parenting were again at the centre of activism, similar to the women's organisations. However, the focus has been different. The pro-family organisations have worked for the preservation of the current legal status of family arrangements during the past few years but their long-term interest has been in reproductive rights, and extension of the rights to reproductive technologies in particular. The LGBT organisations, on the contrary, have demanded significant changes in the present legal definition of family arrangements that would allow same-sex partnership to be recognised. They have also made claims in relation to same-sex parenting. The focus of LGBT activism has been sexuality, its identities and practices as a dimension of intimate citizenship, while this remained outside the focus of all other organisations, including women's NGOs. This means that LGBT intimate citizenship has been addressed only by the limited number of groups and organisations working to represent and protect the rights of LGBT people. It is often the case that these organisations discontinue their activities over long periods or even stop existing. There have not been any attempts to 'mainstream' the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues, or to include them in the platforms of the women's movement together with other demands related to partnership and parenting.

Appendices Bulgaria

Appendix 1: The New Ethics of Intimate Citizenship in ‘Today’s Woman’ Magazine (‘Жената днес’)

*Today’s Woman*⁶ is a woman’s magazine that was published by the Bulgarian People’s Women’s Union (Българският народен женски съюз), which later became the Committee of Bulgarian Women (Комитет на българските Жени). The mission of the publication was to educate the readers with socialist ideas, ‘to help the Bulgarian woman to be a free and happy person’ (‘Жената днес’ на 60, 2005, no page).

The magazine was first published in 1945 and still exists, which makes it the oldest magazine in Bulgaria. During its most popular years (the 1970s and 1980s) its circulation reached 500,000 copies in Bulgarian and 100,000 in Russian, but it could have reached a million copies if it had not been limited by the central distribution of paper. The profits from the magazine were very high and were used to support not only its publication but also the activities of the women’s organisation (‘Жената днес’ на 60, 2005). It was the second largest publication in Bulgaria during socialism after the ‘Worker’s Deed’ [‘Работническо дело’]. Among the editors were Darina Boiajieva, Rada Todorova (Chairperson of the Committee of Bulgarian Women, Honours Chairperson of the International Democratic Women’s Federation), Sonia Bakish (editor between 1965 and 1980), and Eleonora Turlakova (‘Жената днес’ на 60, 2005).

During the period between 1965 and 1980, when Sonia Bakish was the chief editor, the magazine became more pro-active and engaged with the daily problems of women in a more critical way. An article dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the magazine discusses the role of the Editor and the magazine:

The fifteen years when she [Sonia Bakish] was in the leading position of ‘Today’s Woman’ were marked by an abrupt change in the magazine’s messages. Her first mission was to show the reality of the difficult position of women workers [...] Until the mid 1970s there was no other print media, radio or television that would so systematically and consecutively, off their own bat, analyse realistically the social reality and criticise the social policy as ‘Today’s Woman’ does. Under the leadership

⁶ The history of the magazine is based on the article *Today’s Woman is 60* (‘Жената днес’ на 60) (2005)

of Sonia Bakish 'Today's Woman' became the best friend of millions of Bulgarian women. [...] The magazine is popular mostly because it approves femininity, admits the right of the socialist female worker to show weakness, to feel tired, and to desire to be beautiful and attractive ('Жената днес' на 60, 2005, no page)

On the 25th anniversary of the magazine the Prime Minister Todor Zhivkov sent a letter to the editor but instead of congratulations it contained very critical comments calling the magazine 'bourgeois', 'narrow-minded', and 'lacking a class position'. The pressure from the magazine to solve the 'women's question' was discussed in relation to numerous legislative changes (Dimova, 2005) and even experts working for the magazine were involved in the drafting of the proposal for a new Labour Code (1973) which gave women more entitlements, for example to longer maternity leave. The latter was extended to three years, and these years also counted towards the woman's pension – even if the mother was not working previously. Special protection for women who had children outside wedlock was also granted, and the state funding of nurseries and crèches was increased, as did the number of children enrolled at them.

The magazine published information about the activities of the Bulgarian People's Women's Union (BPWU) and also important political documents, and the contents of Today's Woman were regularly on the agenda of BPWU meetings. The information available from these allows us to explore the link between organised women during the socialist period and the demands made on the pages of the magazine, as these two are often similar. The editorial remit of the magazine, especially from the mid 1960s to early 1980s, was to remain close to the daily lives of Bulgarian women. The published materials varied from reportage, to fiction, to articles by experts, to summaries of government reports, and readers' letters. According to the article 'Today's Woman is 60', the magazine managed to mirror the daily lives of Bulgarian women because it wrote about their feelings and problems. The article describes how many women sent letters to the editor discussing personal issues such as loneliness, unfaithfulness, deceitful husbands, childcare, problems at work, misunderstandings with mothers-in-law, and attitudes towards women who had children outside marriage.

Sampling

The analysis of the magazine covers a period of thirty years, from 1965 to 1995. Issues from the following years were included: 1965, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1995. The main

focus of this report is on the period between 1968 and 2008. However it is beneficial to focus on this thirty-year period in order to offer insights into the magazine and its history. Firstly, beginning in 1965 allows the analysis to commence at the start of Sonia Bakish's period, when the magazine began making more explicit demands for women's entitlements. The end of the researched period is 1995 because in 1996 the magazine was bought by a private company and even though it was still published, it cannot be argued that it still represents organised women in any way.

The issues included in the sample are March, June, September, and December from each of the years mentioned above. In 1990 not all issues were published due to financial difficulties and lack of paper. Therefore, only two issues from 1990 (March, and June/July) were included in the analysis. On several occasions articles from issues other than the initial sample were included. This happened when the review revealed that a series of articles particularly relevant to intimate citizenship were published during the researched year, for example the series of articles entitled 'Sexology – a Delayed Conversation' published across almost the whole year in 1970.

Mid 1960s and 1970s

Intimate citizenship issues received a lot of attention on the pages of the magazine in the period from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s. Various demands were made in relation to parenting and childrearing, sex education, women's health, and so on; a large variety of issues were part of the agenda. Adult intimate relationships were romanticised and seen as based on friendship, love, and mutual support, but sexuality was discussed as an important aspect of intimacy. Marriage was 'highly recommended' but it was not seen as an end in itself and there was a lot of regulative discussion of what is appropriate and what is socially unacceptable. Here age, ethnicity, and nationality become key factors defining 'right' and 'wrong' in intimate relations.

Sexual intimacy and raising children were not confined to marriage only, but were largely expected to happen within wedlock. Nevertheless, single parenthood and pre-marital sexual contacts were not disapproved of, but were seen as areas where greater social acceptance of these practices was necessary. The portrayal of intimate relationships on the pages of the magazine included discussions of 'jealousy' and 'unfaithfulness' but these 'problems' were portrayed as

negotiable, as issues the couples should work on. The practices most strongly disapproved of were domestic violence, alcohol abuse, and lack of care for children.

In spite the large variety of intimate citizenship issues discussed, there were some omissions in the topics covered. For example there was nothing published on rape, and same-sex relationships/desires were discussed in only one article. Adult intimacy was predominantly heterosexual and procreation was central.

Partnership

Partnership was one of the central intimate citizenship issues. In 1965 a series of articles entitled 'Talk on Love and Marriage' ('Разговор за любовта и брака', see for example, June 1965) published articles by lawyers, doctors, journalists, and public figures exploring a number of issues related to intimacy: quick marriages at young age (June, 1965), divorce (September, 1965), early pregnancies and abortions (May, 1965), etc. The tone and main messages of numerous articles revealed a similar portrayal of intimate relationships, which focused on love and friendship. Other virtues of intimate relationships were help and support, and mutual respect. The stability of marriage was important, and could be achieved if a marriage is entered voluntarily and not under the pressure of society, parents, relatives, and peers (За и против, May/July 1965). Intimate relationships were seen as accompanied by 'comrade help' and love (Това не е спорт, девойки, June 1968).

These family relationships were seen as part of the new 'socialist way of life', based on gender equality. Family, the magazine suggested, was 'now a union of people with equal rights' (Commentary of Letters to the Editor, September, 1968) and help and equal participation in domestic labour is seen as part of the 'new morality' as well. Men who refused to take part in domestic labour were criticised (Commentary of Letters to the Editor, September, 1968).

Special attention was paid to the love relationships of the young. Several articles suggested that young people should not try to hide their love but to fight for it and parents of young people were advised to respect the feelings of their children (За да бъде здрав един брак', June 1965; 'За да няма нежелани последици', May/July 1965; 'Моето момиче изтъкано от противоречия', June, 1975). A commentary article suggested that these problems occurred because it was a time

of change and a 'new morality' was being created (Editorial, September 1968: 8-9). According to the text, mothers were 'helpless in front of the complexity of life', which was creating confusion and conflicts between parents and children. But the lack of support, it was further suggested, could make young people angry and alienated. The commentary advised mothers to be 'charming, wise, interesting and strong in the eyes of her child' (September, 1968: 9) and argued for greater involvement of public organisations in helping and educating mothers to contribute to the better understanding the problems of young people. It is apparent here how women have a central role and a 'social duty to bear and rear the 'socialist citizens of the future' (Einhorn, 1993: 40).

Divorce was also amongst the most discussed intimacy-related subjects and even though the tone of the materials revealed that divorce was not approved of and marriage should be sustained, the overall tone was not conservative. For example, an article dedicated to divorce issues proclaimed that a spouse who had 'an infatuation with somebody should be offered help by the other spouse and a divorce should not be sought' (За да бъде здрав един брак', June 1965). Divorce was represented as a practice of 'spoiled bourgeoisie women' and the reasons for it were thoroughly discussed. Most often divorces were seen as resulting from vice, mismatch in character, disrespect of the spouse and her/his parents, unfaithfulness, and interference of others in the couple's relationship ('Семейството – жизнена необходимост за обществото', June, 1965). In spite of the fact that marriage was perceived as a 'lifetime union' which offered the 'closest intimacy [which] is between spouses' (November, 1965), divorce was seen as acceptable in some cases, such as a mismatch between partners, long separation, and illness (November, 1965).

Nevertheless, divorce is not encouraged, and there is usually disapproval of the guilty party, or the person 'causing' the divorce ('Разговор за любовта и брака', November, 1965). In relation to this, practices other than lifelong marriage were disapproved of. For instance, second marriages were described as 'less likely to be successful' ('Разговор за любовта и брака', June 1965), single-parent families were seen as 'amputated' ones, and children were presented as seriously suffering from parental separation and prone to suicide, anti-social behaviour, isolation, and neurosis ('Разводът и психиката на децата', September, 1965).

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

The centrality of women's role as mothers was crucial for the way in which parenting and reproduction were perceived during socialism. Women, collectively, were the central figures responsible for care, putting them in the centre of discussions of social 'problems' such as neglect of families and children. The magazine between the mid 1960s to late 1970s often protected women's right to work and rejected the idea that women as individuals are solely responsible for care, or for the lack of it. The reasons for this were the transformation of gender relations in society and within families, as well as the insufficient socialisation of domestic labour. For example, an article entitled 'Women Today and Tomorrow' (September, 1970) pointed out that, in spite of the fact that women still did most to the domestic and care work, there was an understanding about equality of roles in the family, including childcare. Domestic labour was seen as diminishing, but still considerable, and as a duty that had to be shared between women, men, and children. The article argued that half of men took part in domestic duties, and the other half still harboured the 'old mentality' ('Жените днес и утре', September, 1970). There were occasions when women were criticised for their preoccupation with domestic labour and for not spending time reading, attending cultural events, being with friends, or going out ('Жените против равноправието', June, 1975: 11).

Having many children was often portrayed as a 'traditional value of the Bulgarian family' ('Народът пее за българската челяд', March, 1968) and the magazine often published various materials on the parenting of many children, including letters (see Letters to the Editor, June, 1968; June, 1975), pictures and quotes of mothers of three or more children (June, 1975). Having one child only, or postponing parenthood, was criticised and explained as a result from inappropriate form of upbringing ('Народът пее за българската челяд', March, 1968), with difficult balance of working and family duties, and small or inconvenient housing conditions ('Раждаемостта и младите семейства', June, 1975). In this sense voluntary childlessness was simply non-existent on the pages of the magazine. Single motherhood by choice, however, was seen as a growing practice ('Тъй като ще живеем в семейство', March, 1975).

There was an extensive discussion of what constitutes good parenting and good care for children. The best environment for the child was perceived to be a combination of family and institutional care ('Тъй като ще живеем в семейство', March, 1975; 'Опорни точки', March 1965). A

strong emphasis was put on not spoiling children with 'excessive luxury', 'oversatisfaction', or too high ambitions of the parents ('Обратната страна на медала', December, 1968; 'Не изгубваме ли мярката', June, 1975). Respect for children's personalities was also promoted ('Детето е личност, нека помним това', December, 1975). In relation to motherhood, the age between 18 and 25 was recommended as the most appropriate for having children. Births outside this age were portrayed as carrying health hazards for the mother as well as the offspring ('За да няма нежелани последици', May/July 1965).

Various claims and demands related to parental rights were made from the pages of the magazine, for example: for more privileges for mothers with more than two children; for the removal of a tax payable by adults aged 21 and over without children (the so called 'Bachelor Tax') if they were not childless by choice ('Списание 'Жената днес' предлага... да се поправи една несъобразност', May/July 1965); and for more support of single mothers, who were seen as socially marginalised (September, 1970; March, 1975). Adoption was presented as a good practice that needed to be encouraged (see for example letters to the editor from September, 1970). Most of the demands, however, were related to better state provision of childcare and various services for children, for example demands for a larger number and better distributions of care institutions, for different types of institutions that would meet different needs, lower fees, free milk and a sandwich at school (Editor's Comments, June 1965; December, 1965), for professional nannies ('Обидно ли е', June, 1970).

Infertility was addressed in some articles in the magazine in the discussions on reproduction and childlessness. Articles dedicated to infertility suggested that it was linked to numerous abortions, abortions at an early age, or an early sexual life ('Анкета за безплодието', December, 1968, 'Как девойката да опази в себе си майката', June, 1975). Abortions, therefore, were presented as harmful to women's health and the use of contraceptives was suggested as a good family planning method and as a way of protecting women's body and her fertility ('Анкета за безплодието', December, 1968; 'На кого да вярвам', June, 1975).

Care and intergenerational relationships were among the issues that the women's organisation 'tackled' from the pages of its magazine. This can be considered part of the new intimacy and personal relationships 'project'. Care for the elderly was also discussed but received much less attention ('Майка', March 1965; readers' letters March, 1965: 14).

To sum up, reproduction and parenting were two of the most central intimate citizenship issues. Desire for procreation was not challenged and was perceived as central to the lives of adults, both men and women. Women, however, were continuously seen as the central person offering care, in spite of what was suggested as the new gender-equal family sphere. Even though motherhood was seen as a ‘substantial condition for complete fulfilment of women’s personality’ (Committee of Bulgarian Women, 1973: 4), only activities outside the domestic life could offer women independence.

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

Identities and practices related to sexuality did not have as central role in the construction of intimate citizenship as reproduction and parenting, but they were important in the presentation of adult relationships in the magazine. Discussions of what was considered a healthy and proper sexual life included topics such as sexual pleasure, the start of sexual life, sex education, and so on.

A series of articles entitled ‘Sexology – a Delayed Conversation’, published almost during the whole year 1970, offered an interesting discussion on sexuality. An important issue was the ‘early’ sexual life, which was understood as any sexual contacts under the age of 17-18 for women and 18-20 for men (June, 1970). Through engaging in ‘early’ sexual life young women were seen as losing respect for their partners (March, 1970), and putting themselves at health risk (‘Това не е спорт, девойки’, June 1968). Sexual life, therefore, should not only be an ‘animal instinct but joy, happiness and love’ (June, 1970) and young people were advised to ‘abstain from early sexual life by cold showers, physical activity, and dedication to education’ (‘Обществено развити’, May/July 1965). Several of the articles demanded sex education and more consultations on issues related to sexual life. One article argued that:

education in correct communist behaviour and attitude between female and male youths, between men and women, and the creation of sexual culture is an obligation of the whole society (April, 1970: 16).

A few of the articles also discussed women’s pleasure from sexual contact as an important aspect of adult sexual relationships (September, October, December, 1970). The inability of the woman to feel pleasure was seen as leading to callous relationships and boredom with the partner. Sexual

problems were related to lack of knowledge about sexuality, stress and tiredness, jealousy and tense relationships, poor housing conditions – when young families had to share housing with parents (September, 1970, December, 1970). Certain ‘techniques’ of arousing sexual desire were also discussed – looks, gestures, dress, dance, perfume (October, 1970), and erotic zones (December, 1970). Eroticism was seen as important but it is not an end in itself, it had to be accompanied by friendship, closeness, love, and self-sacrifice (September, 1970; December, 1970). ‘Masculine women’ were criticised for not taking care of their ‘femininity – both physical and spiritual’ (October, 1970).

One of the articles discussed same-sex desire and presents a letter from a gay man to the sexologist. A quote from the letter was published:

Comrade Doctor, help me or I can’t live any more. I have to know if I’m a man or a woman. I can’t [carry on] like this. Everyone is bullying me, this is not a life (‘Сексологията – един закъснял разговор’, March, 1970: 8)

Same-sex attraction in the article was presented as a ‘strange attraction’, ‘strange desires’ that were also linked to ‘nightmares disturbing his sleep’, humiliation by others, fear and despair that ‘such people’ felt for not being ‘adequate men or women’. The conclusion of the expert was that gay people were victims of ‘incorrect upbringing’ but it is not clear if the author was suggesting that this upbringing was the cause of same-sex desires or of the social pressure placed on gay people. The approach of the article to same-sex relationships, and more importantly the lack of discussion of such relationships in the magazine, presents same-sex desires as taboo.

Other taboos linked to identities and practices related to sexuality included: ‘quick’ relationships at a young age; relationships based on profit (for example, wealthy partners, for social status, or for city citizenship⁷, and relationships with old foreigners); relationships with a black person, and swinging. Sexual contacts ‘without feelings’ were also strongly disapproved of. The idea that ‘the woman is second best sex, that she is only an instrument of male carnal pleasure’ (‘Това не е спорт, девойки’, June 1968: 19) was rejected.

Interestingly, pre-marital sex was not stigmatised and the argument was that young people should find out if there was a lack of sexual attraction to the partner, and also because ‘the unconditional

⁷ People were allowed to live and work only in the city or town where they were born. If they wanted to migrate to a different place, they had to apply for ‘city citizenship’, which was not easy to get.

requirement for virginity [in some Western societies] creates some psychological insecurities, quite commonly perverted, and leads the young person to the so-called ‘spiritual prostitution’ (‘Отношенията между младежите и девойките до брака’, March, 1968: 16).

The extensive discussion of various sexual practices in a moralising tone making strong distinctions between ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, exemplifies how the sphere of intimacy was not a private but a public issue and that ‘sexual life is a personal issue but it is also an obligation to society because you [women] are the tomorrow’s wives and mothers’ (‘Това не е спорт, девойки’, June 1968: 19).

Gender and Sexual Violence

The print issue of the Committee of Bulgarian Women often contests domestic violence. Incidents of domestic violence were presented as ‘remains from the barbarian past’ (‘Остатъци от варварското минало’, September, 1965). Men were criticised for not being able to change and women were advised to leave violent husbands (‘Остатъци от варварското минало’, September, 1965). The women’s magazine appealed for a public debate and for administrative, economic and other measures but it did not specify how exactly domestic violence should be addressed. Forced marriages were discussed on the pages of the magazine and were portrayed as something outdated that in not part of the new intimacy. In the past ‘marriages happened without love’ but, according to the approved ‘new’ practices, love and marriage go hand-in-hand (‘За идването ти в живота ми’, March, 1968).

1980s

In the 1980s there was a ‘turn to marriage’ discourse, where the emphasis was on the moral obligation to sustain marital unions and to raise children ‘properly’. Issues such as declining birth and marriage rates and increasing divorce rates were thoroughly discussed in the magazine and were portrayed as ‘problems’ in intimate relationships. The tone was even more moralising than in the 1970s, blaming people for not acting in accordance with what were considered socially approved norms and values. The ‘problems’ were seen as being linked to a lack of proper morality represented by women’s independence (interpreted as selfishness) and career pursuit (or ‘commoditisation’ of their interests). The magazine during this decade demonstrated in a much

clearer way how the activities, claims, and language of organised women were channelled into directions that were deemed important by the state.

Partnership

The magazine gave out very different messages about partnership during the 1980s. Marital life had lost its romantic face from the mid 1960s and 1970s, and much more attention was paid to family problems and conflicts arising from work-life balance. The messages got more conservative in tone with a very strong emphasis on maintaining the marital union. This change in tone and the strength of the demands made was also connected to the fact that Sonia Bakish, the Editor in Chief, retired in 1980.

An article entitled 'Children Make Us Better Men' discussed the changes occurring in intimate life and personal relationships – the rise in the number of divorces, more 'incomplete' families (single-parent families), and the rise in solo living. The text suggested that, as a result, men lost responsibilities towards their family and towards society, and women lost their 'glory' and started to compete with men. Other effects were the overwork of women, loss of close contact in intimate relationships, lack of control over children, and commoditisation of people's interests. The text enquired:

How many women there are who, instead of giving birth and raising a few children, dedicate their time to a dissertation, for example, unnecessary to anyone? And why is it absolutely necessary that every woman has to find self-realisation in public labour and not, for example, as a wife and a mother? ('Децата ни правят по-добри мъже', September, 1985: 15).

It was also suggested that men in the family could be 'replaced' but women could not and, therefore, women were criticised for focusing more on personal wellbeing, leisure, and on career, and paying no attention to motherhood ('Между спечеленото и загубеното', June, 1985). The romantic image of family life that was present on the pages of the magazine in the mid 1960s and 1970s was replaced by a moralising discourse focusing on the many things that were not 'right' in family relations, and women are usually the ones to be blamed.

Divorce was seen as undesirable, even in the 1970s, but in the 1980s the emphasis was even more on efforts to sustain marriage. For example, a discussion through the letters of readers was

published in January and in March 1980 in support of family, including opinions that family was not only a private matter and everyone had to support it, and demands for legal changes that would extend the reconciliation procedures and make divorce on mutual consent more difficult when the couple had children ('Няколко мнения за едно мнение', March, 1980).

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Parenting remained the main intimate citizenship theme discussed on the pages of the magazine during the 1980s. There was an even stronger focus on reproduction and very often the articles criticised the lack of desire to have children. This was explained with interest in personal wellbeing, comfort and enjoyment ('Между спечеленото и загубеното', June, 1985).

Adoption found a place on the pages of the magazine through many letters from readers and was supported as a practice, but women were encouraged to keep their extramarital children, rather than to leave them for adoption ('А мама все не идва', March, 1980; letters to the Editor, September, 1980). Foster parenting was discussed as a positive practice taking place in Poland and the Czech Republic where families could volunteer to care for orphans. The author was critical about the lack of provisions in Bulgaria that would allow foster parenting ('Четвъртият инстинкт', December, 1980).

Solo parenting was also a topic the magazine discussed, encouraging single mothers to be financially independent, self-confident, to have friends and a profession ('Майка която отглежда сама детето си', September, 1980). In relation to solo parenting, the magazine made several demands that were seen to be for the benefit of the mother and the child, for example a demand for faster and more reliable court procedures for proving paternity, which would be 'in the name of the better development of the child and [in the name of] justice' ('Търси се бащата', December, 1980). Other demands included longer paid leave, and higher benefits for single mothers, and for the entitlement to live in state 'Mother and Child' (Майка и дете) homes ('Самотната майка и законът', March, 1985).

Institutionalised care was again a focus of discussions about care. In a similar way to previously, the magazine was used to raise demands related to the improvement of childcare services (letter, March, 1980; 'Играят ли децата', December, 1985). The 'proper' upbringing of children was

also discussed through topics of teaching children independence and modesty ('Чантите говорят, родителите мълчат', December, 1980) and the need for more quality time with children.

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

The main focus of this decade of the magazine seems to be centred on themes of marriage survival and parenthood, and the diversity of intimate citizenship issues of the previous decade was much reduced. There was much less attention to identities and practices related to sexuality than during the previous decade.

Women's dissatisfaction with their marital sexual lives was discussed as the cause of existing family problems, quite similarly to the mid 1960s and 1970s. The reasons given for unsatisfactory sexual life included a lack of experience and the desire to please husbands. This was used as another argument blaming women for dissolving marriages and the appeal was for love in marital relationships ('Трябва да се обичаме', March, 1980). This resembles the romantic view of marriage from the earlier period.

To sum up, the 1980s revealed a much stronger focus on marriage and procreation and much of the discussions concentrated on the moral obligation to sustain marital unions and to raise children 'properly'. Women were often criticised for not being able to handle the multi-tasking of employment and family responsibilities. There was much less discussion of women's autonomy and a much stronger emphasis on duties and responsibilities.

1990s

The magazine continued its role as a tribune of organised women during the first years after the collapse of the socialist regime and many demands were made from its pages. After the rather voiceless decade of the 1980s, the magazine regained its activist position, this time outside political censorship. Although 'Today's Woman' became closer to the style of a glossy magazine, the editors distinguished their approach from the tabloid journalism that prioritised scandal and sensation over content. 'Today's Woman' had a socially engaged position dealing with issues related to poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and disability. The moralising approach to issues related to intimacy present in the 1980s was replaced by what appears to be a more liberal

attitude, closer to 'real life' experiences than to the imposition of conservative social norms. A collection of articles based on foreign publications offered a discussion of sexuality that went beyond the traditional focus on marital heterosexual relationships and opened up apparently 'exotic' topics.

Partnership

One article evaluated the positive and negative aspects of marriages between young people who still attend school, a theme that was also important in the earlier period of the magazine. It focused on the difficulties that young families experienced and the economic instability and concluded that 'the deception called equality is over' ('Луди води. Ученическото семейство – да или не?', June/July, 1990).

There was a significant change of discourse in the way family and marital relations were discussed. For example, an article on marital relations suggested that obligations to family members created problems in the relationship between the spouses. Gender relations within families were described as men 'wanting to be the master', and women who having to 'use little tricks to oppose him' ('Много шум за нищо', June, 1990). This represents marital relationships as much more problematic – significantly different to the socialist period, where obligations were simply 'a must do' and women and men were seen as equal.

The variety of intimate relationships presented on the pages of the magazine broadened significantly and less conventional practices were opened up for discussion. For example, various readers' letters focused on: maintaining marriage for the sake of children ('Едно писмо, един отговор', March, 1990); resisting having an affair, despite being in a living-apart-together relationship with a husband who works abroad ('Закъсняла любов', June/July, 1990); fear about finding out that a husband is cheating ('Жени и мъже', June, 1995); marriage as having somebody to support you when you get old ('Жени и мъже', June, 1995). Romantic relationships and flings at work were the subject of another article, which discussed several 'scenarios' for such relationships ('Служебен романс', September, 1995).

A 'novelty' on the pages of the magazine was the attention dedicated to men and masculinity. For example, there were articles discussing whether men were able to express their feelings, and

advising women to give men more freedom ('Детайли от мъжкия характер', June/July, 1990; 'Защо Адам не признава, че плаче', June, 1995). An article based on a publication in the magazine, 'Cosmopolitan', discussed existing prejudices in relation to men: that they were seen as having preference for sex outside marriage, being attracted to breasts, unfaithful, being careless about their appearance, insensitive, unromantic, and thinking only about sex ('Мъжете са люди по цици и още шест (неверни) истини', June, 1995).

Women's femininity was discussed on the pages of the magazine during the period of state socialism, mostly in relation to criticisms of 'masculine women' and the promotion of the working mother model. The magazine published articles on fashion, beauty, the body, and sexual attractiveness, but this remained on the margin of the content. This 'missing' aspect of femininity quickly caught up after 1989 when beauty became more explicitly promoted. For example, a letter from a reader entitled 'I want to be a woman' described a rejection of overworking, hard physical labour, and social expectations that women would not complain. The author of the letter admitted that she dreamt of hair styling, cosmetic procedures, and less physical labour ('Искам да съм жена', June/July, 1990). 'Learn to Like Yourself' is another title that addresses embodied experiences of femininity ('Научете се да се харесвате', March, 1990). So both femininity and masculinity were sexualised and relationships between adults were 'injected' with some tension and drama.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

In relation to reproductive rights and parenting, again the discourse changed significantly and rather quickly destroyed the myths from the socialist period. For example, an article entitled 'Totalitarianism and Birth Rates' (1990) argued against the Bulgarian Communist Party's belief that low birth rates had negative effects on cultural life, education and the future economic development of the nation. It argued that experts disagreed that low birth rates had 'fatal effects' for the nation and also suggested commonality in demographic processes with other European countries ('Тоталитаризмът и раждаемостта', June/July, 1990). The author of the article argued that this policy was aimed at the suppression of the Bulgarian people by creating a standardised model of behaviour related to intimate citizenship.

Parenting was addressed through a wide range of themes, for example: an article on how parents should introduce their new partners to their children ('Как да представим новия си партньор на децата', September, 1995); on children's independence ('Дистанцията училище – родители', September, 1995); on prevention of alcohol drinking by young people ('Наш дълг е да научим децата да пият... колкото трябва', December, 1995); on parenting of sick or disabled children ('Децата на боледуващи родители', June/July, 1990); on happy solo parenting ('Майчинство', September, 1995), and so on. This made the picture of parenting much more diverse.

Several articles on reproduction discussed topics such as stress and infertility ('Възможно ли е стресът да причини безплодие', June, 1995), defining days for likely conception ('Мейби бейби', December, 1995), the use of contraceptive coils ('Спиралата', June/July, 1990), and the time of menopause ('Въпроси за менопаузата', March, 1995).

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

Sexuality was back on the pages of the magazine in the 1990s. A series of articles were published in 1995 dedicated to various issues relating to sexuality and most of the texts were based on materials from foreign magazines. The first article, 'Deviances: Beware of the Voyeur' (March, 1995), was dedicated to voyeurism and suggested that scopophilia was a medical condition that was also related to some elements of aggression ('Отклонения: пазете се от воайора', March, 1995). Another article, 'The Lady with the Whip', discussed sadomasochistic love play as a psychological problem related to self-harm and suicide attempts ('Дамата с камшика', June, 1995). Another article, 'He and He – One Nice Family', presented the story of a gay couple who lived together happily. Both men were presented as having discrete relationships with other married men. The article also discussed the social prejudices against such relationships ('Той и той – едно мило семейство', September, 1995). The last article was dedicated to 'erotic sadism' which was explained as 'sexual domination or submissiveness'. The text suggested that there were numerous organisations, clubs, meetings, and fashion shows in the USA in relation to sexual sadism, practiced by 'many heterosexual couples too'. The article described as a paradox that people who enjoy this sort of experience were seen as 'perverts', while 'the millions who get divorced [are seen as having] a perfectly normal life' ('Сексът по света. Еротичен садизъм', December, 1995). All these articles discussing various identities and practices related to sexuality demonstrate the collapse of taboos. The magazine, which remained rather distant from gossip

issues in comparison to other publications of this period, demonstrated the liberation of the intimate citizenship discourse. Many of the articles were based on publications in foreign magazines, such as 'Elle', and 'Cosmopolitan', and introduced discussions of intimate citizenship that were new to Bulgarian society, for example the positive representation of erotic sadism and same-sex relationships, previously considered deviant.

Care

Care was much more thoroughly addressed by the magazine during this period, with childcare as a main topic, as it had been during the 1970s and 1980s. There were demands for legislative changes allowing foster parenting, for better conditions in childcare institutions, and for private nurseries ('Клуб семеен детски дом', March, 1990). A new aspect of the way care was conceptualised was its relationship to various socially underprivileged groups, such as homeless people and street beggars ('Децата които просят', June/July, 1990; 'Нито по-беден, нито по-богат', March, 1995), orphans ('Хляб за момчето', June/July, 1990), and young people who tried to commit suicide ('Не бягай. Между живота и мъртта – девет млади самоубийци', June/July, 1990), and disabled people ('За инвалидите', March, 1990; 'Живот в инвалидна количка', September, 1995). Self-care was another theme related to care. This was addressed in various articles dedicated to stress-relief techniques, anger management, how to deal with anxiety and bad thoughts, on the use of natural medicine, and how to have less stressful relationships with colleagues.

Conclusions

The analysis of the magazine revealed three very different periods in relation to intimate citizenship. The first period, during the mid 1960s to late 1970s, focused upon the creation of a new ethics of intimacy, which represented a combination of romantic love, mutual help and support, modesty and dedication to family and society, and openness about love relationships and sexuality (including women's sexuality). Important aspects of this 'new' ethics included strong beliefs about gender equality, demands related to more welfare protection for mothers and children, the popularisation of marriage and parenting, and rejection of a wide range of values and practices that were framed as 'bourgeois'.

Support of marriage became the main theme during the 1980s. This involved a moralising discourse about the failure of individuals, and especially of women, to aspire to parenthood/motherhood and domesticity. There was a blaming tone in the materials, suggesting irresponsibility for failed marriages and the improper raising of children. During the early to mid 1990s, the magazine again became more liberal in its attitude to intimate citizenship and started addressing new issues, including same-sex relationships; the dominance of marriage as a theme decreased. The magazine also took a more socially engaged role, supporting people in socially disadvantageous positions.

Appendix 2: Intimate Citizenship, the Women's Movement and Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change in Bulgaria - Timeline

BULAGARIA: Timeline ⁸	
Around 1850	The first women's organisations were established mainly working in the areas of charity and education. The organisations became more visible in the public sphere between 1869-1876; they also became involved in the Bulgarian liberation movement (1876-1878). In 1878 there were 61 women's organisations, seven from them were established by Bulgarian immigrants and were outside the Bulgarian territories.
1879	Liberation from Turkey and the first Bulgarian (Turnovo) Constitution: granting voting rights to all Bulgarian citizens over the age of 21, officially including women. In practice women were not allowed to vote, 'citizens' stood for men only.
1840	First school for girls was founded in Pleven by Anastasia Dimitrova
1890	The right to heritage was equalised for both genders (Law on Heritage)
1897-1898	The duration of high school education of boys and girls was equalised
1899	A new piece of legislation banned married women teachers to practice their profession (removed in 1904 as a result of the women's movement)
1901	Bulgarian Women's Union (Български Женски Съюз) was founded. Claims for access to education, voting and to some of the prestigious professions such as lawyers, doctors, artists and architects. Representing mostly middle-class women's interests.
1901	Women allowed to study at University
1904	Subjects studied at high school equalised for boys and girls
1906	Women's rights to inheritance were limited
1907	Women were banned from access to University; this happens as part of the so-called 'university crisis' when the university was closed by the government and all professors are dismissed after students booed Prince Ferdinand at the opening ceremony of the National Theatre. The crisis ended in 1908.
1909	Union 'Equality' (Съюз 'Равноправие') founded: women's voting rights was a main issue; a petition was sent to the Parliament demanding equal voting rights for women (1909)
1912	Law banning brothels
1914	Socialist Women's Union (Социалистически женски съюз) founded; has class orientation and was close to the socialist party
1921	Women's Social Democratic Union (Женски социалдемократически съюз): demanding protection of civil and political rights of working women; equal pay, improvement of health and hygiene, social support for the poor and for the unemployed, good education for all Bulgarians, protection of children and ban on prostitution

⁸ The timeline is based on the sources used for the report, for references see the report

1922	ILO Maternity Protection Convention (1919) ratified
1924	Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education (Дружество на българките с висше образование) founded. Worked for the opportunities for development of women professionals – lawyers, doctors, artists, teachers, writers
1926	Bulgarian Women’s Union ‘Love for the Motherland’ (Български женски съюз ‘Любов към Родината’) was formed: a right wing organisation
1936	Unsuccessful attempt of the government to introduce family legislation: ‘Bill on the Conclusion and Termination of Marriage’
1937	Legally married women with children were allowed to vote for local elections
1938	All married, divorced or widowed women above 21 were enfranchised. Women could not be elected
1939	The first woman to be appointed as a reader at Sofia University was Elisaveta Karamihajlova who became a Reader in Experimental Atomic Physics
PRE-1944 FEMINISM	The main characteristics of the Bulgarian women’s movement until 1944 according to Daskalova (2005; 2002), were its focus on the exclusion of women from prestigious social spheres and its urban and mostly bourgeois character. The demands the movement made were for access to education and to some of the prestigious professions such as law, medicine, art and architecture; voting rights for women; equal pay; political representation of women and access to higher positions of power; equality in marriage in terms of free right to end marriage on will, not to adopt the nationality of their husbands, and change of the tradition of surname after marriage; ban of prostitution and sexual exploitation; protection of children and minorities; reforms providing for the equality of children born within and without marriage (Daskalova, 2005: 318-323, 325).The Bulgarian feminist organisations from this period were active also on the international scene as members of international feminist organisations.
1940s	
1944	(9 th of September) Soviet occupation, the Fatherland Front ceased power
1944	Decree on the equality of women and men: grants equal rights in all areas of life
1945	The Bulgarian Public’s Women’s Union (Българският народен женски съюз) was formed. It was the sole women’s organisation and it unified all women’s organisations existing prior to 1945; The Union ‘was completely redundant and helpless as an organisation of women operating in a totalitarian one-party regime’ (Todorova, 1994: 137). Existed until 1950.
1945	Vera Zlatanova became the first woman to be allowed to work as a lawyer as a result of the Decree on equality (1944)
1945	Decree on Protection of the People’s Power (prosecution of ‘fascists’ and political purge, defeat of the resistance)
1945	Decree on Marriage: first involvement of the state in matters of marriage, divorce and family relations (prior religious documents); separates religion from family relations and introduces a universal judicial regime for all Bulgarian citizens; equal rights to children within/outside marriage; a mixed system of divorce grounds: by mutual consent or adultery, threats against the other spouse’s life, criminal conviction, absence, illness and sexual impotence, infertility, and severe breach of matrimonial obligations and marriage breakdown; agreement on the matters relating to the children was obligatory and that agreement on the division of property was optional; children born within and outside wedlock gain equal rights.
1945	First issue of the magazine ‘The Woman Today’ (still published)

1945	Supplementation to the Law on Support of the Victims of the Anti-Fascist and Anti-Capitalist Fight which allows the 'illegitimate wives of people's fighters' to receive support
1946	Law on Labour Mobilisation of Idlers and In-vain-Wanderers: prostitutes and pimps are among the categories of people put away in institutions; according to some sources this law was used against gay people too.
1947	Constitution: changes after the Soviet model - one-party state, economy and industry sectors nationalised
1947	Women can be elected for Parliament
1948	Re-settlement of Turkish and Muslim population from the areas near the Southern border. State intervention in Turkish minority's and Bulgarian Muslim's religion and way of life resulting in a wave of emigration
1949	Persons and Family Act: 'sexual impotence and infertility' was dropped as grounds for divorce
1949	The General Assembly ratified Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others
1949	ILO Underground Work of Women Convention (1935) ratified
1950s	
1950	Protests of women in North Bulgaria (area of Kozloduj) against the collectivisation of land
1950	At its national conference in September 1950 the Bulgarian Public's Women's Union made the 'decision' to become part of the Fatherland Front (Отечествен Фронт, ОФ) with the argument that there was no need for independent women's movement. A Committee of the Democratic Bulgarian Women (Комитет на демократичните български жени) was created (December, 1950) representing women's interests. Within the next few months the leaders of all women's organisations had to be replaced by party activists. The property and documents of the women's organisations were confiscated and they were closed down.
1950	The Communist party decided to encourage emigration of Bulgarian Turks.
1951	Protests of peasant women in the North for the return of their agricultural property
1951	New minority policy for development and association to the building of socialist society
1951	Criminalisation of homosexual acts between women for the first time; increase of the punishment for homosexuality to 3 years imprisonment; restriction of abortions;
1951	Bachelor Tax is introduced for not having children (Decree for Stimulation of Birth Rates)
1951	Law on People and Family: divorce on mutual consent was revoked; divorce procedures made more difficult; conciliation session was introduced to the divorce procedures for the first time; divorce barred in cases where the breakdown was attributable solely to the behaviour of the petitioner and the other spouse wished to preserve the marriage; strong campaign against the irresponsible disruption of marriage with images of abandoned wives in the media
1951	Decision of the Communist party for improvement of the work among the Turkish population
1953	Revision of the Persons and Family Act dropped all grounds for divorce except one: marriage breakdown
1954	(until 1989) Todor Zhivkov at the lead of the Communist Party
1954	Bulgaria ratified the UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1953)
1955	ILO Equal Remuneration Convention (1951) and Protection of Wages Convention (1949) ratified

1956	New international events with influence in Bulgaria: the protests in Poland (June) and Hungary (October), the Bulgarian Communist Party decided to attack everything that contradict government policy.
1956	Penal Code: imprisonment for up to 6 months or fine up to 1000 BGN and public reprobation for a husband who left his family and was living with another person. The same punishment was stipulated for the person with whom the spouse lives. In case of second offence - imprisonment for up to 3 years.
1956	Abortion on free will became available for the first time (up to 12 weeks gestation; if the woman had not had an abortion within the prior six months)
1958	Start of assimilation policy tow. minoritised groups: Decree No.258 banned nomad life (similarly to the Czech Republic, the USSR); actions towards improvement the social and housing conditions of Roma people; Turkish schools were combined with Bulgarian ones and the mother tongue was studied only as an additional discipline
1959	Local authorities responsible for ensuring full Romani employment
1959	ILO Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (1948) ratified
1960s	
1960	ILO Discrimination in Employment and Occupation Convention (1958) ratified
1962	First occasions of forceful changing of Turkish names to Bulgarian ones.
1965	(until 1980) Sonia Bakish became editor of 'The Woman Today'
1967	Decisions for further actions of 'inclusion' of the Bulgarian Turks into the majority
1967	Discussion of the demographic 'problems' and of some pronatalist measures; projects for new Penal and Family Codes, as well as for a new Constitution
1967	Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, General Assembly
1968	Agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey was signed for the emigration of the families of Bulgarian Turks who left the country in 1952. Between March and November 115,000 Turks emigrated.
1968	Bulgaria took part in the events in Prague in support of the communist government
1968	Family Code: divorce by mutual consent became available again; matrimonial fault was dropped as a general ground for divorce and could be considered only if this was raised by the petitioner; common ownership of matrimonial property replaced the earlier long-standing separation of spouses' property.
1968	Bulgaria was one of the first Eastern European countries to decriminalise same-sex sexual acts; age of consent was 18 years for same-sex and 14 years for opposite-sex
1968	Report on the declining birth rates; suggestions to stimulate birth of 2 nd and 3 rd child, benefits regardless of income
1968	Restrictions on abortion: available for women older than 45 years, or women with more than 3 children (up to 10 weeks and no abortion within the last 6 months); prohibited for childless women; a special medical board had to approve abortions of women under the age of 16, or who have 1 or 2 children, and also for medical reasons and rape
1968	Committee of Bulgarian Women (Комитет на българските жени) was created as to 'improve the work among women' and as some form of independence of organised women; however, the Committee was still part of the Fatherland front and dependent on state policy.
1969	BCP decided to take measures against the 'threat from the cultural autonomy' of the Bulgarian Turks; ban on Turkish newspapers, books, and theatres.

1970s	
1970s	At the focus of the attention of organized women in the 1970s was the improvement of the conditions for the combination of women's family, employment and social duties. Various demands were made related to more favourable participation in the labour force (part-time jobs, requalification, etc.); better socialisation of childcare and domestic duties (provision of care, clothing, food, services, etc.); state support of people with children (more benefits); more equal partnership relations; and gender mainstreaming. Promotion of motherhood was at the centre of the actions of organised women.
1970	UN Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and UN Convent on Civil and Political Rights (1966) ratified
1971	Public discussions of the new Constitution. It is adopted after a Referendum with 99.66% of votes in favour. The new totalitarian constitution limited personal/ private property; the expression 'national minorities' was replaced with 'citizens of non-Bulgarian origin'.
1972	Another wave of forceful change of names of the Bulgarian Turks
1973	Further restrictions on abortion: prohibited for women with only 1 child; Exceptions: rape or incest; childless unmarried women under 18 years; women over 45 with at least one living child; medical reasons
1973	Legislative changes: : the period of paid and unpaid leave for looking after a child were extended; entitlements to sick leave were increased; the amount of maternity allowance and the financial support for raising a child were increased; scholarships for female students who have children were increased; the lump sum received at childbirth was also increased
1974	Some relaxation on abortion: all women could present their case in front of the commission, permissions were given more often
1974	Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict
1974	The working week was reduced from six to five working days
1977	Encouragement of private production: Decree for 'Self-satisfaction' with production at the level of households trying to compensate food shortages - people from the cities were given land to produce food for their own needs; a shift towards 'natural economy'
1977	Additional Agreement with Turkey to the one signed in 1968. The total number of emigrants since March 1969 reaches 114,356 people.
1979	Decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to mobilise the women's Committee in government attempts to block the growing economic difficulties in the country. The Committee of Bulgarian Women was transformed in an attempt to improve its efficiency, and its name was changed to the Movement of Bulgarian Women. A new approach was adopted: 'not to ask for more funding but the use what is available in more reasonable way' (CMBW, 1980, p 20).
1980s	
1980-1982	The celebrations to mark 1300 years since the establishment of Bulgaria (681) were a good occasion to intensify the promotion of motherhood. The Committee organised a two-year discussions 'The Bulgarian Woman in the National Development' (1980-2) (CMBW, 1980; 1984) including public lectures, round tables, conferences, exhibitions promoting 'good' motherhood.
1982	Bulgaria ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979)
1982	The Committee started working to 'strengthen the relationship between the generations', for the 'education of young people in respect' for the elderly, and the encouragement of 'solidarity and mutual help' (CMBW, 1983). Some of these activities included: helping old people living alone or in care institutions; assisting pensioners' clubs, creating a register of old people who need help, and the

	reintegration of active pensioners through work activities (CMBW, 1983).
1982	New approach to economic management – a move towards de-centralisation, competition and market economy
1982	New wave of pressure on the Bulgarian Turks known as the ‘Revival Process’ because it is claimed that the Bulgarian Turks are ethnic Bulgarians who were forced to change their identity during the Turkish dependence. Ethnic Turks are banned from settlement and employment in certain areas, they are to be re-settled in the middle of the country.
1984	New wave of renaming of Bulgarian Turks
1985	End of the forceful re-naming of 850,000 ethnic Turks. Measures for further assimilation – the term ‘Turks’ was replaced by ‘citizens with restored names’; Bans on speaking Turkish language in public, circumcision, traditional clothing, Turkish music.
1985	Family Code: preserved mutual consent and breakdown of marriage as grounds for divorce, restored fault; common ownership extended to spouses’ bank accounts based on presumption of joint contribution; property acquired prior to marriage is not affected
1985	Instruction No1 for the procedures for Medical Certificates for Entering into Matrimony
1986	Age of Consent equalised (14 years, regardless of the sex of the partners)
1987	AIDS is introduced to the list of diseases that can be an obstacle to marriage
1987	The Club of Women Inventors and Rationalisers (Клуб на жените изобретателки и рационализаторки) was established (later became the National Association Women in Science, NAWS). It was one of the first organisations non-government organisation of women towards the end of socialism.
1988	Todor Zhivkov announces the new ideas for the ‘Revival process’ – re-settlement of ethnic Turks
1989	Mass protests and hunger strikes of ethnic Turks against the assimilation policy and re-naming
1989	Speech of Todor Zhivkov blaming Turkey for provoking the protests and demands of people who want to leave Bulgaria to be let into Turkey; Mass emigration known as ‘The Big excursion’ starts. About 310,000 people leave Bulgaria between end of May and 22 nd of August when Turkey closes its border with Bulgaria.
1989	Resolution of the European Parliament against the violation of human rights of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria.
1989	(9 th of Nov.) Todor Zhivkov resigns and is replaced by Petar Mladenov.
1989	(18 th of Nov.) First mass protest of the opposition
1990s	
1990s	Women’s activism during the first five to ten years after 1989 was mostly in the areas of environment, education, human rights, and culture preservation and the number of organisations working on gender equality remained small. The women’s organisations at this stage were relatively weak due to overall lack of gender awareness, as well as experience in activism. The number of women's NGOs rose significantly in 1993 - 1995, and again in 1996 – 1997. After the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) the Bulgarian women’s movement entered into a more dynamic phase marked by a growth of local activism, a more professional self-organising, and a clearer focus on gender. The organisations often tried to represent all women and to address all problematic women’s issues.
1990	Democratic Union of Women (Демократичен съюз на жените) was established (improving the position of women and family; legislation changes). The demands for women’s protection by the state

	remained, but there were some new demands relating to adoption, foster parenting, and ecology. For the first time the organisation also demanded new legislation on women and family issues that would correspond to the international standards.
1990	Bachelor Tax revoked
1990	Abortions on request for all women (up to 12 weeks gestation) became available
1990	The Great National Assembly decided that Bulgaria would apply for membership in the Council of Europe
1991	New Constitution: Bulgaria became a parliamentary republic; a broad range of freedoms was provided.
1991	Bulgaria joined the Council of Europe
1991	The Bulgarian Association of Women in Law was founded and started playing an active role in the drafting of bills on rights of women, children, and family; involved in attempts to improve the protection of women and children, and to harmonise the Bulgarian laws with international ones
1991	The Bulgarian Association of University Women (BAUW) was established and restored the pre-communist organisation founded in 1924. The aims of this organisation are to support the professional, personal and social self-fulfilment of well-educated women
1992	Bulgarian Gay Organisation ‘Gemini’ was established for protection of the rights of same-sex couples in Bulgaria
1992	Bulgarian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association (BFPAHA) was established and started working on reproduction and sexual health issues.
1992	Todor Zhivkov was sentenced to seven years in prison for corruption (conviction overturned by the Bulgarian Supreme Court in 1996)
1993	Women’s Union (Български женски съюз) was restored. Some of the demands were for: retirement age of women to be lowered by two years for every child that a woman rears, and remunerations to be paid to mothers looking after young children; equality of domestic work and employment; improvement of women’s participation in politics, and decision making, and to better access to information of women and other groups in unequal social position
1993	First sex-reassignment surgery
1993	General Assembly adopted Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
1994	Zherika (Women, Risk, Career) was founded; dedicated to supporting women under stress and psychological crisis
1994	The Animus Association, which is one of the first women’s anti-violence organisations and among the most active at present, started its activities with projects on violence against women by gathering information, increasing the capacity of the professionals, and offering support to the victims.
1995	Application for EU membership
1996	(until 1997) period of economic turmoil and hyperinflation; mass protests
1997	Currency board introduced, inflation brought under control
1997	Age of consent for same-sex acts was raised to 16 years (part of wider amendments aiming to reduce criminal actions during the economic and political transition)
1997	Bulgaria was advised about the measures to be taken in relation to the EU accession

1997	The Party of Bulgarian Women was established (leader Vesela Draganova). The party entered the parliament in 2001.
1997	Bulgarian women's NGOs start taking part in the international anti-violence campaign '16 days against Violence'
1998	Key legislation decisions: thorough monitoring of Bulgarian legislation; EU starts evaluating the development of the country in annual reports; First 'National Programme for Accepting the Legal Achievements of the EU'
1999	Start of EU accession negotiations
2000s	
2000s	The 2000s have been, so far, a decade of growing networking and collaboration between women's NGOs working on local and national level. An annual meeting of women's NGOs was initiated and several important pieces of legislation (on domestic violence, trafficking, children's rights, non-discrimination) were introduced with the active participation of the NGOs. The women's activism has been focused mainly around issues of gender equality and human rights. Some of the issues raised were related to minimisation of gender pay gap, equal access to employment, to services, to decision making positions, etc. From the intimate citizenship issues those of key importance have been: gender and sexual violence, non-marital relationships, parenting, and adoption rights.
2000	EU: negotiations complete (chapters closed): 'Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises', 'Science and Research'; 'Education and Training', and 'Common Foreign and Security Policy', 'Culture and Audiovisual Policy', 'External Relations', 'Statistics', 'Consumers and Health Protection'
2000	Law for Not-For-Profit Activities reducing the intervention of the state in NGO activities; making receiving funding from foreign sources much easier
2000	Law on Protection of the Child
2000	Abortion on free will of women under 18 is no longer covered by the National Health Insurance Fund; thus all abortions on free will are paid by the patient
2000	Regulations for the Implementation of the Law for Foreigners in the Republic of Bulgaria
2000	A joint project of the Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation and Association Demetra focused on Consulting of Violent Men in Bulgaria as an advanced strategy for combating violence against women. This is one of the very few projects that are addressing men in relation to violence.
2001	Former King Simeon II's party, National Movement Simeon II, won parliamentary elections. Simeon, who became king at the age of 6 in 1943 (until 1946 when Bulgaria became a republic and he was forced to leave the country), became a Prime Minister.
2001	National Network for Equal Opportunities initiated by women's NGOs. It has 76 member organisations at present.
2001	EU: closed negotiations on 'Free Movement of Capital' and 'Company Law', 'Telecommunications and Information Technology', 'Freedom to Provide Services', 'Industrial Policy'
2001	One of the first big projects on same-sex rights started aiming at creating a 'safe house' for the gay community (BGO Gemini)
2001	First public debate on LGBT issues (organized by BGO Gemini)
2001	First lesbian bar 'Bilitis' is opened in Sofia
2001	ILO Maternity Protection Convention (2000) ratified

2002	EU: 'Economic and Monetary Union', 'Social Policy and Employment', 'Institutions', 'Freedom of Movement of Persons', 'Free Movement of Goods', 'Taxation', 'Customs Union', 'Financial Control'
2002	The project 'Bulgaria: Gender Aspects of Poverty and Inequality in the Family and the Labour Market. Research and Policy Recommendations', which was sponsored by the World Bank, was implemented by three organizations - Agency of Social Analyses (ASA), WAD and Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation
2002	A non-formal network of NGOs working in the sphere of domestic violence, National Network of Organisations in Support of Women Survivors of Violence in Bulgaria, was established and started a lobbying campaign for implementation of legislation on domestic violence and trafficking.
2002	Campaign for Penal Code amendments that will remove discriminatory texts based on sexuality
2002	Law for Amendment and Supplement of the Law on Asylum and Refugees
2002	Changes towards non-discrimination on the grounds of sexuality (EU infl.) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Last texts criminalising homosexuality are revoked: Penal Code, Art. 157: 4 & 5 'homosexual acts in public places', 'performed in a scandalous manner' or 'in a manner that may incite others to follow a path of perversion'; and homosexual prostitution 2. Persuasion to prostitution extended to include male, not only female 3. Age of consent equalised for the second time (14 years, regardless of the sex of the partners) 4. First text on trafficking included in the Penal Code
2003	EU: closed negotiations on 'Transport Policy', 'Environment', intense discussion of 'Justice and Home Affairs' closed in October
2003	Bulgarian Platform to the European Women's Lobby was formed initiated by women's NGOs
2003	Law on Counter-Trafficking of People – the first integrated piece in the BG legislation dealing with trafficking; considered to be very up-to-date; National Counter-Trafficking Commission established. Until then the Government policy on trafficking prevention was part of the actions against organised crime and there was no separate legislation on trafficking.
2003	A minimal period of 4 days after childbirth before the mother can agree to adoption of her child was introduced
2003	Consultative Commission on Equal Opportunities was set up at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy
2003	Discussions of the Law on Protection against Discrimination with the participation of NGOs
2003	The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation started a two-phase project entitled 'Roma Women Can Do It' (second stage in 2005), part of the regional project of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force.
2004	During and after 2004 the range of LGBT organisations expanded with the establishment of the Bilitis Resource Centre, the Queer Bulgaria Foundation, the gay Sports Club 'Tangra', and the lesbian sports association BGL-SporTeam, the club 'For her'.
2004	EU: closed negotiations on the most difficult chapters 'Agriculture', 'Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments', 'Financial and Budgetary Provisions'; last chapters were closed – 'Competition Policy' and 'Others'; BG becomes a member of NATO; Criticisms for little achievement in the areas of judicial system, anti-corruption and trafficking of human beings.
2004	Law on Protection against Discrimination: revolutionary for BG legislation; first law in Bulgaria to

	give legal definition of ‘harassment’, ‘sexual harassment’, ‘persecution’ (‘victimisation’), ‘instigation to discrimination’, ‘racial segregation’, ‘less favourable treatment’ as acts leading to discrimination; sexual orientation is among the grounds; regulates direct and indirect discrimination; burden of the proof can be in favour of the victim; protection of rights the areas of employment, education and training, provision of goods and services. Some of the main women’s organisations were involved in the drafting and discussing the law.
2004	Penal Code: ‘probation’ was introduced to replace ‘corrective labour’
2004	Incorporating more grounds for discrimination including sexual orientation in the Constitution (1991) is discussed in Parliament (EU infl.); rejected
2004	First international LGBT conference held in Bulgaria (organised by BGO Gemini)
2004	One of the first attempts of the LGBT sector to address the legal recognition of same-sex couples came from the organisation BGO Gemini in their media campaign
2005	The NGO Queer Bulgaria negotiated with the political party Novoto Vreme during the pre-election campaign the opportunity to represent gay rights in parliament and to propose changes in legislation that would recognise same-sex relationships
2005	Treaty to accession to EU; Declaration of the 40 th National Assembly on the priorities of Bulgaria: EU membership and effective contribution to the work of the EU institutions, priority of legislative changes related to the EU integration
2005	A coalition of several women’s organisations sent a joint appeal against the legalisation of position to the Minister of Interior in support of legalisation of prostitution
2005	The first Gay and Lesbian Fest in Bulgaria. Since then the lesbian fests are organised annually by ‘Bilitis’
2005	BGO Gemini carried out the projects L(obby) T(o) G(ain) B(roader) T(olerance) and ‘Coming Out’ on anti-discrimination awareness and network for protection of rights;
2005	Queer Bulgaria won the first court case for discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation against the Sofia University for restricting the access of several gay men to the university sauna
2005	There was a national campaign for recognition of 17 th of May as National day against homophobia supported by various human rights NGOs and a ‘march of equality’ on the date.
2005	New Health Law replaces the People’s Health Law
2005	Contract for Primary Non-Hospital Help
2005	Law on Protection against Domestic Violence
2005	Fertility programme funded by the Government: for women aged 18-40 who cannot conceive without medical help; 1270 women were included in 2005, 1500 in 2006 and 1200 in 2007
2006	<p>Last changes towards non-discrimination on the grounds of sexuality; more changes in relation to gender (EU infl.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public reprobation for homosexual acts revoked: the punishments are the same for the similar actions, regardless if they were homosexual or heterosexual 2. Equal protection of men and women from sexual violence and abuse: replacing ‘female person’ with ‘any person’ in the Penal Code 3. Increased sanctions for criminal acts including violence, trafficking and sexual exploitation of children

	4. Gap: rape of male victims remains excluded (also at present)
2006	First LGBT radio programme (LGBT Idea, Sundays, Radio NET)
2006	A coalition of more than 60 human rights organisations, ‘Citizens against Hatred’, won a court case against the leader of a nationalist party member of parliament for his homophobic and racist statements
2006	Discussions of the Family Code started and continue up to this date. In a joined appeal the women’s NGOs demanded more regulation on the rights to personal contacts between parents and children also insisted on being allowed to contribute actively to the discussions of the proposed changes to the Family Code.
2006	Family tax relief introduced (available for 1 of the parents/ carers only); removed in 2007 and replaced by flat tax
2006	Law on Family Benefits for Children (‘pay in kind’ replaced by ‘social investment’)
2006	Giving or receiving of financial stimuli from sperm or ova donation is criminalised (Health Law)
2006	The Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation started a two-year project on ‘Roma Women in Bulgaria– Active and Successful’ (2006-2008) focused on the empowerment of Roma women and their better representation in decision-making at the national and local level.
2006	A large group of pro-family organisations demanded government measures in relation to a wide range of problems of children, which they identified as: the large number of homeless children and children brought up in institutions; trafficking of children, prostitution, and forced labour; difficult access of children from ethnic minoritised groups and disabled children to education and social benefits
2006	A two-year long initiative under the title ‘300 Babies More’ was organised by Association Conception and Movement of Bulgarian Mothers between 2006 and 2008 demanding government policy for prevention of Spina Bifida and free prescription of folic acid to pregnant women.
2007	(January) Bulgaria joined the EU
2007	Women’ NGOs drafted a joined appeal in the European year of equal opportunities and of the celebration of 60 years equal voting rights for women. They made demands related to economic citizenship and intimate citizenship issues: more efforts for improving the conditions for reconciliation of family and professional life; integration of gender equality in the demographic policy; more research on prostitution in Bulgaria and against the government idea to legalise prostitution. The proposed changes in the Family Code were addressed again, in more detailed demands than during the previous year. The importance of the demands was seen in relation to the gender equality, and equality between children who are adopted, or born within or outside marriage, they were for: recognition of cohabitation between a man and a women; for equal legal treatment of marital and cohabiting arrangements (in relation to inheritance, alimony, pre-nuptial agreements)
2007	(Pre)nuptial agreements were discussed in Parliament
2007	The Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation implemented two projects on equality and non-discrimination: ‘The benefits of Diversity’ and ‘From anti-discrimination towards equal opportunities’, which aimed at awareness raising
2007	Paid leave for pregnancy and birth was increased from 135 to 315 days
2007	Programme ‘In Support of Motherhood’: unemployed people are paid by the government to look after children under the age of three years whose mothers are entitled to paid maternity leave but have decided to go back to work.
2007	Programme ‘Responsible Parenthood’: parents who do not send their children to school regularly receive lower Child Benefits; increase of the amount for benefits, raising the income threshold above

	which families with children are entitled to child benefit, implementation of programmes promoting family planning and reducing unwanted pregnancies, education programmes for developing parental skills
2007	Professional foster families are introduced in the legislation
2007	Bill on the Rights and Obligations of Patients: right to self-definition, personal safety, respect for one's personal life, moral and cultural values, and religious beliefs; right to personal (intimate) sphere; confidentiality and support from family, relatives and friends
2007	Law for Foreigners and not in the Law for Entering, Residing and Leaving the Republic of Bulgaria of European Union Citizens and Members of Their Families
2007	Law for Supplement of the Law for Foreigners in the Republic of Bulgaria: Directive 2004/80/European Council, regarding the obligation of air transporters to provide information about the passengers
2007	A new Family Code is discussed in Parliament – introducing legal recognition of registered cohabiting for the first time;
2007	'Dolphin' Gay Club for Naturism and Sport and Queer Bulgaria closed down
2007	BGO 'Gemini' implemented the project SMILE - Sustainable Mobility Initiatives for Local Equality (2007) and GAY = Good As You on positive image of LGBT, disability, and ethnic minorities; and started the project on non-discrimination at school, 'Deafening Silence' (2007-2008)
2008	Association Present and Future Mothers initiated a campaign in support of single parenting demanding higher social benefits for single parents.
2008	Proposal for a new Family Code including: legal recognition of registered cohabiting; different property regimes in marriage (shared; split property); introduction of prenuptial and marital agreements; simplified adoption procedures; extending children's rights protection. The new Code was approved by the Parliament during the first reading (November, 2008)
2008	A group of twenty-two pro-family NGOs organised a protest after the first reading of the Family Code demanding veto on any changes for five years. The same group of activists sent several petitions in support of the existing legislation earlier in 2008.
2008	In March The Bulgarian Gay Organisation 'Gemini' sent a proposal for changes in the Family Code to the Parliament and the Ministry of Justice demanding legal recognition of same-sex cohabitation. The NGO also organised the first Gay Pride in Sofia in July under the title 'Me and My Family'.
2008	June 2008: BGO 'Gemini' organised the first gay pride in Bulgaria under the motto 'Me and My Family' in support of the right of same-sex families to be legally recognised. The reactions were very polarised, but homophobic responses seemed to be stronger and there were violent outbursts against the 200 participants on the parade. Firecrackers, cocktail 'Molotovs', and stones were thrown at the people on the gay march. More than eighty people were arrested for violence, including the leader of a Bulgarian nationalist organisation.
2009	A new Family Code was adopted on the 12.06.2009 and promulgated in State Gazette 47/2009 coming into force on the 1 st of October 2009. It introduced easier procedures for entering marriage and for divorce, pre-nuptial agreements and split-property marital regimes, easier adoption procedures. The legalisation of de-facto cohabitation was part of the proposal but was revoked from the adopted Family Code. The text of the proposal can be found at: http://www.parliament.bg/?page=app&lng=bg&aid=4&action=show&lid=2133 [accessed 12.07.2009], and the Minutes from the parliamentary discussion: http://www.parliament.bg/?page=plSt&lng=bg&SType=show&id=587 [accessed 12.07.2009].
2009	(27 June) LGBT pride 'Rainbow Friendship'. The Bulgarian Socialist Youth and the Green Party were the only political groups in Bulgaria that declared their support of the event, which gathered more participants than the previous year and took place without homophobic attacks.
	Mariya Stoilova, FEMCIT, WP 6: Intimate Citizenship

Appendix 3: List of Organisations Mentioned in the Text

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS	
Name in English/ Име на английски	Name in Bulgarian/ Име на български
'21st Century Women's Parliament' (Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, KNSB)	Женски парламент 21-ви век (Конфедерация на независимите синдикати в България, КНСБ)
Association 'Alternativa 55'	Асоциация 'Алтернатива 55'
Association 'Animus'	Асоциация 'Анимус'
Association 'Childhood Without Tears'	Сдружение 'Детство без сълзи'
Association 'Conception'	Сдружение 'Зачатие'
Association 'Conception'	Сдружение 'Зачатие'
Association 'Demetra'	Асоциация 'Деметра'
Association 'Development and Support for Roma Women and Children'	Сдружение 'Развитие и подкрепа на ромските жени и деца'
Association 'Knowledge, Success, Transformation' – Dupnica,	Асоциация знание, успех, трансформация - Дупница
Association 'Naia'	Асоциация 'Ная'
Association 'Parents'	Асоциация 'Родители'
Association 'Sauchastie'	Асоциация 'Съучастие'
Association 'Slantse'	Асоциация 'Слънце'
Association 'Society and Values'	Асоциация 'Общество и ценности'
Association for Social, Cultural and Educational Development of Minority Groups in Bulgaria	Сдружение за социално, културно и образователно развитие на малцинствата в България
Association of Present and Future Mothers	Настоящи и бъдещи майки
Association of Roma Women and Children 'Hope'	Сдружение на ромските жени и деца 'Надежда'
Association of Women's Clubs in Business and the Liberal Professions	Асоциация на клубовете на жените в бизнеса и свободните професии
Bilitis Resource Centre Foundation	Фондация Ресурсен център 'Билитис'
Bulgarian Activist Alliance	Български активистки алианс
Bulgarian Association 'Family Planning and Sexual Health'	Българска асоциация по семейно планиране и сексуално здраве
Bulgarian Association 'Infertility and Reproductive Health'	Българска асоциация по стерилитет и репродуктивно здраве
Bulgarian Association for Adopted Children and Adopting Parents	Българска асоциация осиновени и осиновители
Bulgarian Association of University Women (BAUW)	Българска асоциация на университетските жени
Bulgarian Association of Women in Law	Асоциация на жените с юридическа професия
Bulgarian Communist Party	Българска комунистическа партия
Bulgarian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association	Българска асоциация по семейно планиране и сексуално здраве
Bulgarian Fund for Women	Български фонд за жените
Bulgarian Gay Organisation 'Gemini' (BGO)	Българска гей асоциация 'Джемини'

Gemini)	
Bulgarian Gender Equality Coalition	Българска коалиция за равнопоставеност на половете
Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation	Български център за джендър изследвания
Bulgarian Home	Български дом
Bulgarian Platform to the European Women's Lobby	Българска платформа при Европейското женско лоби
Bulgarian Public Women's Union	Български народен женски съюз
Bulgarian Women's Union	Български женски съюз
Business club Eterna	Бизнес клуб 'Етерна'
Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (CC of BCP)	Централен комитет на Българската комунистическа партия (ЦК на БКП)
Centre 'Amalipe'	Център 'Амалипе'
Centre Maria	Център Мария
Centre Nadia	Център Надя
Centre of Women's Studies and Policies	Център за изследвания и политики за жените
Christian Women's Movement	Християнско женско движение
Club 'Fat Cats'	Клуб 'Фет кетс'
Club 'For her'	Клуб 'За нея'
Club of Women Inventors and Rationalisers	Клуб на жените изобретателки и рационализаторки
Committee of the Democratic Bulgarian Women	Комитет на демократичните български жени
Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women	Комитет на движението на българските жени
Democratic Woman's Union	Демократичен съюз на жените
Face to Face	Фейс ту фейс България
Fatherland Front	Отечествен фронт (ОФ)
Federation of Women's Clubs of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party	Федерация на женските клубове при Българската Социалдемократическа партия
Foundation 'Ethnic Integration'	Фондация Етноинтеграция
Foundation 'Ethno-Cultural Dialogue'	Етнокултурен Диалог
Foundation 'I Want a Baby'	Фондация 'Искам бебе'
Foundation 'Ideas and Values'	Фондация идеи и ценности
Foundation 'Movement of Bulgarian Mothers'	Фондация 'Движение на българските майки'
Foundation Care for the Community 'Diva'	Фондация грижи за общността 'Дива'
Foundation Creating Effective Grassroots Alternatives (C.E.G.A.)	Старт за ефективни граждански алтернативи (С.Е.Г.А.)
Foundation Ethnic Integration	Фондация 'Етническа интеграция'
Foundation For Children	Фондация 'За Децата'
Foundation for Regional Development 'Roma-Plovdiv'	Фондация за регионално развитие "Рома – Пловдив"
Foundation Movement of Bulgarian Mothers	Фондация 'Движение на българските майки'
Fund for Prevention of Crime	Фонд за превенция на престъпността
Gender Education, Research and Technologies Foundation (GERT)	Фондация 'Джендър образование, изследвания и технологии' (ДОИТ)
Gender Project for Bulgaria Foundation	Фондация джендър проект за България
Indi-Roma 97	Инди-рома 97
Literary club 'Kibela'	Литературен клуб 'Кибела'
Mother Care	Майчина грижа

Movement of Bulgarian Women	Движение на българските жени
Movement of Women and Mothers against Violence	Национално движение 'Жени и майки против насилието'
National Civic Forum 'Bulgarka'	Национален славянски форум 'Българка'
National Ecology Club of the Green Party	Национален екологичен клуб при Зелената партия
National Network for Equal Opportunities	Национална мрежа за равни възможности
NDSV (National Movement for Stability and Progress, previously National Movement Simeon the Second)	НДСВ (Национално движение за стабилност и възход, преди Национално движение Симеон Втори)
Open Door Resource Centre	Ресурсен център 'Отворена врата'
Organisation 'Lachshi Romani'	Ромска женска независима организация 'Лачши Романи'
P.U.L.S. Foundation	Фондация П.У.Л.С.
Parents of Children with Impairments	Родители на деца с увреждания
Party of Bulgarian Women	Партия на българските жени
Queer Bulgaria	Куиър България
Resource Centre 'Lomidol'	Ресурсен център 'Ломидол'
Resource Centre New Alternative,	Ресурсен център 'Нова алтернатива'
Social Consultative Centre – Samokov,	Социален консултативен център - Самоков
Socialist Women's Union	Социалистически женски съюз
Social-Psychological Centre 'St. Kozma and Damian'	Медицински център 'Св.Козма и Дамян'
Society of Bulgarian Women with Higher Education	Дружество на българките с висше образование
SOS Families in Risk	SOS – Семейства в немилост
Sports Club 'Tangra',	Спортен клуб 'Тангра'
Support for the Roma 2000	Подкрепа за Ромите 2000
The Club of Women in Information Technologies	Клуб на жените в информационните технологии
The National Association Women in Science	Национална асоциация на жени в науката
The National Network of Organisations in Support of Women Survivors of Violence in Bulgaria	Национална мрежа организации в подкрепа на жени пострадали от насилие в България
The Single Mothers Association	Дружество на самотните майки
Union 'Equality'	Съюз 'Равноправие'
Union of Large Families	Съюз на многодетните
Vela Centre	Център 'Вела'
Widow	Вдовица
Women for Pure Natural Habitat	Жени за чиста природа
Women's Alliance for Development	Женски алианс за развитие
Women's Association 'Ekaterina Karavelova	Женска асоциация 'Екатерина Каравелова'
Women's Association 'Liliak'	Женско сдружение 'Лиляк'
Women's Club of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union	Женски клуб при Български земеделски народен съюз
Women's Social Democratic Union	Женски социалдемократически съюз
Women's sport Association BGL-SporTeam	Женското спортно дружество 'BGL-SporTeam'
Women's Union to the Confederation of Labour	Женски съюз при Конфедерацията на труда

‘Podkrepa’	‘Подкрепа’
Women's Club Rhodopea	Женски клуб ‘Родопея’
Women's Health Initiative in Bulgaria	Женска здравна инициатива в България
Zherika (Women, Work, Career)	ЖеРиКа (Жени, риск, кариера)

Norway

Tone Hellesund

Part I - The New Women's Movement in Norway

2.1. Feminist Background

In 1869 *The Subjection of Women* by John Stuart Mills was translated into Norwegian and Norwegian author Mrs. Camilla Collet, had already found success publishing books raising feminist issues. The official start of the Norwegian women's movement is usually dated to the mid 1880s. *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* [The Norwegian Association for the Women's Cause] was founded in 1884, and became one of the leading forces of first wave feminism in Norway.

During the early years, feminism was seen as a fundamental part of modernity, progress and civilization, and the women's cause was supported by leading figures in society (like male authors Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Alexander Kielland and Jonas Lie). Between 1884 and 1913 the organization campaigned for women's full public (political and economic) citizenship (Moksnes 1984, Lønnå 1996:284), but there was also a focus on intimate life and a strong belief in women carrying particular (positive) gender characteristics that should be recognized and valued both in the public and in the private sphere (Hellesund 2003). The demands of the first decades of the movement focused in particular on the needs of single women, who were granted the right to education, office and a place in public life. After 1913, when suffrage was won, the focus shifted towards the rights of the married housewife, and there was a major decline in the organization. Of the 16 local chapters that existed in 1913, only 4 were left in 1936 (Lønnå 1996:285).

After the turn of the twentieth century, the hegemony of the mainly liberal, bourgeois feminist organizations was challenged by socialist and working-class feminists. Socialist-identified groups working on women's rights played a continuous (if not always successful) role in the labour movement and the labour unions, until the 1970s. Dramatically different feminist views regarding sexual and economic citizenship (abortion, contraception, sex education, equal pay, housewife salary or family wage) in these years were linked to ideology as well as class, marital status and

generation (Hellesund 2003). Feminist activist Katti Anker Møller (1868-1945) belonged to the upper classes, and was contemporary with the pioneers of *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*. She however highly contradicted many of her peers in questions of sexual politics. Møller was particularly interested in the conditions for working women, and wanted the state to offer sex-education, contraception and abortion. Her pamphlet *Birth Politics* [Fødselspolitikk] was criticized by the liberal feminists both because they felt it imparted an immoral message, and because to them it seemed absurd to mix “a highly sensitive issue” – such as motherhood – with the state, and to talk about births as a “socioeconomic affair” (Hellesund 2003:187). Møller however was embraced by the fast growing socialist women’s movement. Together they managed to open the first Office of Maternal Hygiene [Mødrehygienekontor] in Oslo in 1924, and before 1940, 8 offices were opened across the country (Lønnå 1996:71).

Between 1920/1930 and 1970, feminist agendas did not enjoy a high public profile, but *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* as well as different socialist organizations worked for issues such as equal pay, individual taxation and child benefits through lobbying and other institutional channels. In 1936 a new generation of women took over *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*, and the ideology of the new chairman, Margrete Bonnevie, came to dominate the new agenda. Her main idea was that all women should have work as well as families, “love and work” (Bonnevie 1932, Lønnå 1996:91). In opposition to the older generations of feminists, she also promoted childcare, contraception and abortion (Lønnå 1996:286). *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* in many ways continued to be an elite organization, and the strategies used for reaching their goals were mainly lobbying the government and other authorities (Lønnå 1996:286). *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* remained as the leading autonomous feminist organization until the New Women’s Movement arose around 1970.

2.2. National Background

During the Second World War Norway was occupied by Germany. The period after the war and during the 1950s were characterised by national unity and modernization. By 1960 a new, more “modern” life was within reach of the Norwegian middle class as well as a large proportion of the working class. Centralization and urbanization are also important key words for the 1960s.

The Norwegian Labour Party came to play a tremendously important role in developing the modern welfare state. The Labour Party gained its first parliamentary seats in 1903 and has been Norway's largest political party since 1927. During the early 1930s, Labour abandoned its revolutionary profile and developed a reformist agenda. Labour was elected to government from 1935 and remained in power until 1965 (except for the exile period between 1940 and 1945). After 1965 conservatives and socialists have been alternating in government. In the 1970s the revolutionary Maoist movement and political party – AKPml – gained influence in Norwegian society and in many radical organizations. Comparatively the Norwegian movement was “probably bigger, more long lasting and far more visible and influential” than the Maoist movements in other Western countries (Sjøli 2008). The presence of an authoritarian Maoism, carried out by extremely hard working, loyal members, created serious tensions and breaks in the radical movements of the time, also within the feminist and gay/lesbian movements.

One of the backgrounds for understanding Norwegian society is its relative poverty and its egalitarian structures and ideals. Apart from the royal family, there is no nobility in Norway. Until the 1880s (or 1960s) Norway was a society mainly consisting of peasants, farmers and fishermen. Between 1825 and 1925 approximately 800 000 people emigrated from Norway to the USA in the hope of a better life. The main bulk left Norway between 1865 and 1910. Considering that the Norwegian population was 1.7 million in 1865 and 2.4 in 1910, most Norwegian families were affected by the emigration.⁹ Emigration remained high until WWI, and did not come to a halt until the economic crisis of the 1930s. In 1970 a gigantic well of oil was found in the North Sea. The yearly production of oil from Ekofisk became twice the size of the national oil consumption and Norway suddenly became an oil exporting country. The oil's part of the gross national product (GNP) was 3% in 1975 and almost 20% in 1980. During the 1990s, oil has been responsible for approximately 15% of GNP.¹⁰

Norway has been considered a homogenous society, not only regarding class, but also regarding ethnicity and religion. Several groups are defined as “national minorities” in Norway. These are: Kvens (people of Finnish descent in Northern Norway), Jews, Forest Finns, Roma/Gypsies and

⁹ Information from: <http://web.hist.uib.no/digitalaskolen/oe/noemi.htm> Accessed 10 January 2008.

¹⁰ Information from: http://www.tekniskmuseum.no/no/utstillingene/Jakten_oljen/historie.htm Accessed 10 January, 2008

Romani people/Travellers. All these groups are small in number. The Sami population is not bound by national-borders but is spread around the northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Norway has the largest Sami population, estimated to be between 40,000 and 100,000 in 2008.

In the 1960s, immigrants arrived in ever-increasing numbers from Southern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, with most settling in and around Oslo. In 1975, Norway implemented an official ban on immigration, which remains in effect today. In 2008, the immigrant population (including persons with both parents were born outside the country) constituted 8.3% of the population, or 386,000 people, with backgrounds from over 200 different countries.

Until the (immigration of the) 1970s, Norway was almost a monoreligious Christian society with the vast majority being members of the protestant Church of Norway, upon which the Norwegian constitution rests. The influence of puritan laymen's movements has been strong in many parts of Norway. Other influences on Norwegian society have included the temperance movement (both Christian and socialist influenced) and a nationalist movement focusing on the "true Norwegian" language, national folklore, and country-people ("real people"). The latter is in opposition to the internationally-oriented (foreign) upper-classes.

Compared to its Nordic neighbours, Norwegian society has been more conservative in relation to family patterns and the employment of women during the 20th century. The employment rate for married women had been falling since 1900, and by 1970 the proportion of employed married women "was lower in Norway than in all Nordic countries and several other western countries at the time" (Hagemann 2006:62). The marriage rate had increased steadily since 1930, and reached its height between 1945 and 1975. The same happened to the fertility rate, and women and men both married and had their first child at a younger age than ever before. These are some of the trends specific to the country that should be considered when analysing the rise and development of the New Women's Movement around 1970. But whilst this movement took on particular national characteristics, it must also be seen as a part of the international western women's movement which gained pace in many different countries simultaneously, and with which it shares cultural expressions, ideologies and ideals, as well as activist methods.

2.3. The New Women's Movement

During the 1960s a new wave of feminism began to emerge in different places. At the University of Oslo a group of researchers (for example, Harriet Holter and Erik Grønseth) focused on gender-roles, arguing that gender was an acquired trait (Haukaa 1982:18). This gender-role research became an important early impetus for women's research, and also brought a new debate about gender to a wider public. New literature was also devoured, and Runa Haukaa particularly mentions *The Feminine mystique* by Betty Friedan, the essay *Women: the longest revolution* by Juliet Mitchell and Caroline Bird's *Born Female* as important texts before 1970 (Haukaa 1982:18-19). A group of women students focusing on breast-feeding started lobbying and set up the organisation *Ammehjelpen*. This group was also active in organising some of the first large events in the new women's movement (Haukaa 1982:19). In 1970, a few women started to define themselves as New Feminists and in August 1970 American feminist Jo Freeman visited Oslo. The meeting at which she spoke was formally arranged by *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*, but organised by the women behind *Ammehjelpen* (Haukaa 1982:22). This meeting sparked further activity and during the autumn of 1970 and the spring of 1971, several autonomous groups of New Feminists were established in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and elsewhere. Their primary goal was consciousness-raising, and also *action*. Some of the first actions concerned abortion, the portrayal of women in a popular radio show called *Kvinner, kvinner* [Women, Women], 'Miss'-competitions, and a "laundry-action" at the main street of Oslo (in cooperation with an environmental organisation, which opposed dangerous detergents and the manner in which detergent manufacturers portrayed women and their goals) (Haukaa 1982:26-28).

The key feminist organizations set up in the 1970s included *Nyfeministene* [The New Feminists], founded in 1970; *Kvinnefronten* [The Women's Front], in 1972; *Lesbisk bevegelse* [The Lesbian Movement], in 1974/75; and *Brød og Roser* [Bread and Roses], in 1976. Some of the older women's organizations were also revived, such as *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* [The Norwegian Association for the Women's Cause] and *Norsk Kvinneforbund* [Norwegian Women's Association]. A variety of other activities should also be seen as a part of the New Women's Movement in Norway. These included autonomous discussion groups, magazines, cultural groups, "bully classes" for women, the establishment of crisis centers, women's houses (Eli, Bodil. Brit, Eli, & Inger 1977), a women's university (Ås 1995), and actions like

Daghjemsaksjonen [Daycare Campaign], Fellesaksjonen mot pornografi [The United Campaign Against Pornography], Kvinneaksjonen for selvbestemt abort [The Women's Action for the right to self-chosen abortions] and Kvinneaksjonen mot EF [The Women's Campaign Against EF (EU)]. In addition to a wealth of new books, both national and translated, magazines, fanzines and pamphlets also flourished. The three major feminist magazines of the 1970s were *Sirene* (1973- 1983), *Kjerringråd* (1975- 1986) and *Kvinnefront* (1976-1981).

While the 1970s was a decade of autonomous feminist organizations, actions and groups with a generic feminist approach, the 1980s was a decade when single-issue NGOs and professional organizations flourished, and where feminist perspectives were increasingly implemented within mainstream politics (for example, gender quotas and the institutionalization of shelters). To pinpoint 'the feminist agenda' after the mid 1980s becomes more difficult, because it is harder to find groups and organizations that speak as generic feminist organizations. A 'third wave' of feminism (Fiig 2006, Mühleisen 2007) or 'a new New Feminism' (Lindtner 2009) can possibly be identified in the late 1990s, particularly in the media and around the magazine *Fett* and feminist anthologies by younger women (Sandnes, Nossun & Smith-Erichsen 1999, Solheim & Vaagland 1999). Third wave feminists primarily use popular culture and media as their activist arenas (Fiig 2006, Mühleisen 2007).¹¹

Until now the most comprehensive description of the new women's movement in Norway has been sociologist Runa Haukaa's 1982 book, *Bak slagordene: den nye kvinnebevegelsen i Norge* ["Behind the slogans: the new women's movement"]. Haukaa is one of the pioneers in Norwegian women's research. She was one of the founders of *Kjerringråd* in 1975, and continued to be an editor until the journal ceased publication in 1986 (Gulbrandsen 1987). She was also active in the feminist organizations *Sosialistisk kvinneforum* and *Nyfeministene*. In her book Haukaa discusses how to separate the new women's movement from other kind of women's movements. She chooses to leave out: 1) *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*, the established feminist organization (since 1884); 2) *Norske Kvinners nasjonalråd*, an umbrella organization for women's organizations; and 3) the women's organizations of the political parties (Haukaa

¹¹ It has been argued that this Nordic third wave feminism is an example of the cultural repoliticization of feminism 'in contrast to the claims of an anti-feminist backlash in Anglo-American contexts' (Mühleisen 2007:177).

1982:12). Although this line of demarcation is not unproblematic, I will mainly follow Haukaas boundaries when I write about the demands and conflicts regarding intimate citizenship in the autonomous new women's movement in Norway. The rationale behind this choice is linked to the concepts "autonomous", "new" and "feminist".

The *new* women's movement is a concept used both by activists themselves and by contemporary sources describing the feminist movement of the 1970s. The new women's movement rose as an extension, a supplement or opposition to existing feminist organizations. Among these, *Norsk kvinnesaksforening* represented the old, autonomous women's movement. *Norsk kvinnesaksforening* was a classic, liberal equality organization, claiming equal rights for all citizens. Their main working method was lobbying and establishing links with the authorities, and it was a well structured, well established, hierarchical organization where most of the members were in their 40s (Lønnå 1996:229). They did not necessarily see the personal as political, and not until the late 1970s did the organization engage in questions of sexuality (and then mainly pornography, prostitution and sexualized violence) (Lønnå 1996:277-278). Many of the younger women rejected the old fashioned ways, methods and arguments of *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* and called for new organisations and action groups to be set up (Haukaa 1982:). They found the old organization boring, and "too exclusive, polite and academic" (Lønnå 1996:234, my translation). Many of the members of *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* certainly saw themselves following the same agenda as the new women's movement addressed, and members from this organization argued that they should also be seen as part of this new movement. The main word to describe the activists of the first wave women's movement had been *kvinnesakskvinne* (meaning "member of women's liberation movement") and this held negative connotations for many. It had come to mean frustrated, cold, skinny, unattractive and humourless upper-class women with flat shoes and their hair in a bun (Haukaa 1982:64). Few of the new activists wanted to be associated with these "kvinnesakskvinner" ¹². New words – *ny-feminist* (ny=new) and *kvinnefronter* ["woman of the women's front"] – became identity labels taken up by these women. These activists described the feminist movement of the 1970s as *new*. This was probably motivated partly by a lack of historical knowledge and also a feeling that a younger, more radical generation, was now taking the stage. It was probably also an attempt to cleanse the

¹² Hellesund (2003) argues that this hegemonic dissassociation from the *kvinnesakskvinne*, the figure of the feminist spinster, started already in the 1920s and 1930s.

phrase “women’s movement” from its negative connotations, marketing it as something new and different. In this report I use “new women’s movement” as a term which closely reflects the ideas and beliefs of those involved at the time, rather than as an analytical concept which suggests everything was in reality “new”.

To leave out *Norske Kvinners Nasjonalråd* seems less controversial. Although this organization addressed some of the same issues as the new women’s movement and played an important role in the anti-porn, anti-prostitution campaigns around 1980, the majority of their member organizations were **not feminist** organisations.

To leave out the political parties, the unions (and their women’s organizations and lobby groups) is far more problematic. While they could be seen as a part of the new women’s movement, I here choose to see the issues and agendas raised by the women’s groups of the political parties as one of the influences of the autonomous new women’s movement, and not as a part of it. This demarcation is highly disputable since many of the women in the parties and unions certainly saw themselves as part of the same feminist struggle, and many took part in both party/union activities and activities within the autonomous women’s movement. For example, one of the leading organizations of the new women’s movement, *Kvinnefronten*, was at one point so closely connected to the Maoist party *AKP m-l*, it might be argued it was actually a party organisation rather than a part of the autonomous women’s movement. It must also be noted that *Kvinnefronten* in one period strongly opposed “feminism”. Despite these rather confusing points, I will argue that *Kvinnefronten* was, and should be seen as, a part of the new women’s movement, whilst I have chosen not to focus on the feminist demands of the political parties and unions. It should also be noted that total economic autonomy from the state can only be found in a few of the organizations of the new women’s movement as the Norwegian state has supported many voluntary organizations. There is a blurry line between some of the totally independent groups of the 1970s and some of the relatively heavily supported NGOs of the 1980s, such as the shelter movement.

It can be argued that one cannot speak of **one** new women’s movement, but of several different movements. Alternatively, it can also be argued that there was indeed one movement, because despite their differences, controversies and conflicts, many of these groups and organizations had similarities in goals, demands and actions. It is also clear that the differences, controversies and

conflicts were more visible for those on the inside, than for those not directly involved. Haukaa strongly argues that despite the differences there really was a unity regarding demands in the different branches of the new women's movement. Despite major tensions and conflicts, there was an overall agreement about the important demands (Haukaa 1982:136).

A final point is that the new women's movement in Norway transgressed organizational borders. Women's organizations' can be studied for their specific histories, including their establishment and growth, which reveal important details, such as tensions and conflicts within the Norwegian women's movement during the 1970s. Even so, this movement cannot primarily be studied as organizational history, but as processes that led to, and maintained, the interest and enthusiasm among the women and men identifying and sympathizing with the movement.

Bearing the above discussions in mind, I will use the concept "new women's movement" as a general, but loose, key term in this report. By this term I am mainly referring to the autonomous feminist organizations, informal groups, networks and actions that developed during the 1970s and 1980s, but also to the identities and alliances that might transgress the organizational landscape. Both inside the labour unions, the political parties, *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* and in the general public, there were people who felt solidarity with the new women's movement and their demands, and who identified with it.

How large was the new women's movement in Norway? According to Haukaa, there were approximately 5000 members (Haukaa 1982:93). Lønnå also includes the members of the old autonomous feminist organizations, bringing the total to 7300 (Lønnå 1996:227).¹³ One can argue that a focus on the number of organized members contributes little to understanding the influence of the new women's movement. It might be useful to see the women's movement as formed of concentric circles with undefined borders (Gilhus & Mikaelsson 1998).¹⁴ In the middle of these circles you will find the leaders of the organizations, the hard-core activists. In the next circle you

¹³ For comparison, it is interesting to note that the Maoist movement had approximately the same number of members as the new women's movement, namely 5000 (Sjøli 2008).

¹⁴ In their book about new religiosity in postmodern culture, Ingvild Gilhus and Lisbeth Mikaelsson (1998) argue that new-age religion should be studied as concentric circles with undefined limits. In the middle of the circles you'll find the experts (priests, religious leaders etc). Further out you'll find people attending workshops, studying the literature etc, and even further out you'll find those reading horoscopes, reading fantasy-literature, playing magical games etc. The point about this circle-model is to visualize how the new religiosity permeates our culture in a way where most of us are touching upon it, but in a non-committal way (Sky 2007:64).

will find people who attend meetings, read feminist literature, and take part in March 8 demonstrations. Further out you will find everyone else influenced by the new women's movement through media references, new words and language, new values, and changing practices. In 1975 Jo Freeman was already arguing for a similar frame of understanding. She focused on the center and periphery of the women's movement and suggested that to understand the movement one should focus on the social and psychological conditions which allowed the center to develop (in Haukaa 1982:66).

Most women who started *Nyfeministene* and *Kvinnefronten* were young students (Haukaa 1982:70) and identified as middle-class (Brekke 1975:14-15). Recruitment also took place outside the universities and larger towns. There does however not yet exist any study or analysis of the breakdown of membership of the women's movement in terms of age, locality and social class.

Haukaa mentions three main influences on the new women's movement in Norway: 1) the New Women's Movement in the US (see Hagemann 2004); 2) the Maoist, socialist and anarchist groups developing in Norway in the 1970s; and 3) the general social changes of the 1970s, and the reformist character of the Norwegian welfare state (Haukaa 1982:48). Looking back from 2009, all three factors still seem important, although now the general social changes and development in the welfare state might seem far more important than the US women's movement.

Whilst there are many myths related to Norwegian 1970s-feminists, there are few indepth studies of the period. Apart from Runa Haukaas book about the new women's movement, historian Elisabeth Lønnå has written the history of the liberal *Norsk kvinnesaksforening* between 1913 and 1996. *Norsk kvinnesaksforening* coexisted and cooperated with the new women's movement, and Lønnå describes the relationship during this period (Lønnå 1996). Another secondary source is a doctoral thesis by sociologist Jorun M. Stenøien. She compares two of the last 30 years' social movements, the women's movement and the environmental movement, analysing their main ideas about knowledge and democracy (Stenøien 2003). The web-based exhibition "*Kampdager*" ["*Days of struggle*"] by Kilden (kilden.forskningsradet.no), also offers photos and interviews with activists as well as a discussion of issues central to the new women's movement in Norway.

2.4. Framings and Conflicts

The Norwegian women's movement started out as a part of an international anti-authoritarian movement (Stenøien 2003). Whilst this was a central focus for many throughout the period, some feminist organisations wanted a more structured and hierarchical organization. This division between the authoritarians and anti-authoritarians seems to constitute a major division within the Norwegian women's movement. While one part of the movement saw the need for leadership and structure as necessary for creating change, others saw such a move as replicating oppressive patriarchal structures and patterns. During the 1970s, most the women's movement defined itself as socialist (with exceptions¹⁵). The conflicts between different versions of socialism were behind many of the divisions between various women's organizations. The major division in the Norwegian women's movement during the 1970s (as in many other radical and social movements in Norway at the time), focuses upon the influence of the Maoist party, *AKP-ml*. The members of *AKP-ml* became active in most of the radical movements of the decade, and they generally tried to maintain a majority on the boards of these organizations. Although very similar political divisions can be found in many other western countries without a strong Maoist-movement, the Norwegian women's movement cannot be studied without an awareness of the presence of *AKP-ml*.

Haukaa writes that during 1974 and 1975, many members of *Kvinnefronten* (by now dominated by *AKP-ml*) argued that two new women's movements existed in Norway: one bourgeois and one proletarian. *Kvinnefronten* saw itself as the true proletarian women's movement and opposed so-called bourgeois equality-policy. In turn, *Nyfeministene* also claimed that there were two new women's movements: one equality-based and one radical feminist. *Nyfeministene* saw itself as the true radical feminist movement, while opposing the so-called equality-policy of *Kvinnefronten* (Haukaa 1982:10). Some of these conflicts can more concretely be related to:

- Feminism versus class-struggle. Did one primarily fight for the ideology of feminism, or did other ideologies take precedence over feminist demands? This was also related to the question of:

¹⁵ Within the old *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*, there were also women who voted conservatively, and also within *Nyfeministene* there was room for different political affiliations.

- Women versus men. The members of *Kvinnefronten* took particular pains to underline that they were not “against men”, and that class solidarity was as relevant as gender solidarity
- Centralized authoritarian structure versus flat and autonomous structure. *Nyfeministene* was an organization with a flat, autonomous and a so-called “anti-patriarchal” structure, whilst *Kvinnefronten* had a strong hierarchical structure. The latter also related closely to the central committee of *AKP-ml* and demanded loyal members.

How deep were the conflicts between the Maoists, the socialists and the new feminists? As mentioned earlier, Haukaa concludes that despite the large amount of conflict, there was an overall agreement about the key issues and demands (Haukaa 1982:136). On the basis of this she argues that the conflicts shouldn’t be given too much importance. However, she also accepts that future historians might choose to see these conflicts as more important than she does (Haukaa 1982:11). I will argue that there isn’t one answer to this question, but different answers depending on the focus. To the general public, most feminists probably looked the same, and the differences and conflicts within the movement might not even have been visible to them. In this regard the conflicts were not important. In regard to the social impact of the movement, one could ask if the conflicts made the movement weaker than if it had been more united, or if the conflicts on the contrary might have had an energizing and mobilizing effect. It is possible that these conflicts drained energy from the movement and caused the closure of generic feminist organizations. On the other hand, conflicts over, for example, questions of sexuality, were more prominent during the early 1980s when many of the first organizations had already disappeared and when the conflict around AKP was less prominent. And finally we also find a similar development of feminism in countries without a strong Maoist element. However, the conflicts around different versions of feminism/socialism and around AKP, seem to have had a major impact on individuals at an emotional level, and to have affected their personal relationships. The conflicts still manage to produce extremely painful memories and feelings among many former activists.¹⁶

Many feminist groups, particularly *Nyfeministene*, focused on everyday life and on personal experiences of oppression. The goal “was to identify the connections between emotions and

¹⁶ E.g. expressed by Kjersti Martinsen at a memory-seminar in Oslo 2007.

experiences and societal structures” (Stenøien 2003:78). Traditionally, feelings have been considered irrelevant in the study of social movements, but there has recently been a renewed interest in this area (Goodwin et al. 2001) and many disciplines have taken an “affective turn” (Sedgwick 2003). This move challenges a dominant belief that emotions and thoughts can easily be separated, that feelings are purely an aspect of one’s private, internal life, decoupled from history and culture.

How were emotions used rhetorically by the women’s movement to shape subjects, attitudes and motives, and create the potential for social change? The interrelations between feelings, identities and actions seem central for understanding the new women’s movement. When studying the emotions of the women’s movement, it is important to stress both what happened within the movement (reciprocal emotions) and the collective emotions developed towards the outer world (shared emotions) (Jasper 1997). The stress on women either as victims or as dignified subjects was an issue extensively debated within the movement, and these different views did probably initiate different sorts of emotions. Likewise, it is important to grasp the excitement and rage, the conflicts and love, shame and pride, the energy and the exhaustion. Which positive and negative emotions did the new women’s movement provoke in its surroundings, and which emotions were triggered between the movements’ actors? Emotions are linked to moral institutions, perceptions of rights and duties, and knowledge of expected effects. All these vary historically (Goodwin 2001:13). The youth revolt altered several of the cultural frames of emotion. Emotions previously related to shame, for example, concerning women’s sexuality, were now to be related to liberation and happiness. Phenomena previously related to progress and freedom, like that of being a domestic homemaker and mother, increasingly became related to force and limitation. As in most social movements, utopias were also crucial in the women’s movement. The feminist movement encouraged new ways to see, feel, love and work – new ways of experiencing the body, using language, and defining power (Bammer 1991:1-2). Consequently, “the utopian” becomes one of the angles for approaching a movement focusing on goals still to be imagined. The literary scholar, Angelica Bammer, argues against the notion of the utopian being defined as unreal, because “the utopian is powerfully real in the sense that hope and desire (and even fantasies) are real, never “merely” fantasy. It is a force that moves and shapes history” (Bammer 1991:7). What were the collective and individual utopias within the Norwegian women’s

movement? What kind of utopias existed in regard to intimacy, love and sexuality? Were they stable or volatile, and what were their impacts?

While the dominating emotions of the first years of the Norwegian women's movement had been excitement, sisterhood and a sense of collective learning and awakening, emotions embodying tension and conflict soon entered the scene. Already in 1974 and 1975 women started to resign or withdraw from *Kvinnefronten* and *Nyfeministene*. Many of those resigning from *Kvinnefronten* did so loudly while protesting the dominance of *AKP m-l* in the organisation, and went on to create new socialist women's organizations like *Claragruppen* and *Brød og Roser* (Haukaa 1982:114 ff). Women withdrawing from *Nyfeministene* did so more quietly, and it is harder to trace the particular reasons for this. Some women withdrew from *Nyfeministene* to start *Lesbisk bevegelse*, and some former prominent members of *Nyfeministene* wrote an article in 1980, claiming that they – and many other women – had left *Nyfeministene* because of its increased lesbian influence and focus (Haukaa 1982:127). Haukaa discusses this extensively and concludes that the lesbian-heterosexual divide was not actually the reason why *Nyfeministene* decreased (Haukaa 1982:134-135). This will be discussed later.

After the decline in the largest feminist organizations around 1975, many of the activists entered into formal politics and other established institutions. A wealth of new and more specialized feminist organizations also started to appear. From the mid-1970s a “woman centered feminism” became dominant, focusing on positive feminine qualities and women's culture (Lønnå 257-258). This move included the development of cultural groups and organizations, women's cultural festivals, organizations linked to specific professions, women's houses, women's studies, a women's press (*Sfinxa*), a women's radio (radio Orakel), crisis centers and shelters, support centers for incest victims, and law advice for women (JURK).

There is no doubt that the new women's movement met with different oppositional strategies from the 1970s to the present day. It is however hard to judge how serious this opposition was. Were there strong powers that felt threatened by the new women's movement and tried to suppress these new voices? Or was the movement a timely and welcome supplement in the public's mind? Certainly the opposition was experienced as harsh by many of the activists at the time. For example, Grethe Rønneberg speaks of quite strong opposition and the organized exclusion of feminists within the old and powerful federation of trade unions, LO (Rønneberg

1983). Accusations that the women's movement was taking focus away from "the real problems" came from both left and right. Stenøien writes that the editors of *Sirene* received returned copies with furious comments from husbands or fathers, and that several subscribers asked to have the magazine sent in a neutral envelope to avoid such reactions (Stenøien 2003:141).

In the early 1970s slogans often started with NO; "NO to low payment, NO to forced fucking, NO to women as merchandise" etc (Haukaa 1982:10). In the early years the movement primarily became visible through actions (Haukaa 1982:25). In fact, it was a perceived lack of "action" which alienated an impatient cohort of younger women from the existing women's movement. This was one of the reasons why the old organizations like *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* (which mainly relied on lobbying) did not appear an attractive alternative for these women (Haukaa 1982:67). Some of the important concepts used by the new women's movement were: *patriarchy*¹⁷, *sexism*, *women's oppression* [kvinneundertrykking], *sexfascism*, *male chauvinism* [mannssjåvinisme], *sex-object*, *consciousness-raising* and *sisterhood* (Haukaa 1982:50). Socialist concepts like *reserve forces* and *reproduction* (meaning both maintenance, the reproduction of humankind, and/or the reproduction of workers) were also added to this list (Haukaa 1982:50-58).

From 1972, 8 March again became a major manifestation of the demands of the new women's movement.¹⁸ By 1978, 20 000 people were taking part in the 8 March marches all over the country (Lønnå 1996:227). From the mid 1970s, however, many of the local 8 March demonstrations separated into two different demonstrations because of the great tension between the different parts of the movement (Lønnå 1996:241). The list of slogans used in the 8 March demonstrations also constituted a list of demands within the movement. This list points in some different directions; and some of the demands can be seen to be in conflict. Haukaa argues that the key specific demands of the new women's movement in Norway included:

- Education in the use of contraception in primary or secondary school and the right to self-chosen abortions
- More delivery rooms and no to centralization of them

¹⁷ The concept patriarchy was already established in the Norwegian context, particularly through Maragarete Bonnevie's book *Patriarkatets siste skanse* [The Last Bastion of Patriarchy] (1948).

¹⁸ 8 March had also been celebrated by socialist women's organizations in the 1920s and 1930s.

- Full pension rights for women
- Full sharing of work and responsibility in the family
- Take away VAT on groceries
- More and better day-care for children
- Safe playgrounds and better traffic safety in the residential areas
- Parental leave for all fathers
- Pain free childbirths
- Stop the commercial use of sexuality in pornography and commercials
- Stop the oppression of lesbians
- Equal pay for equal work
- Shorter working hours for the parents of small children – with full payment
- Paid work where people live

(Haukaa 1982:107).

Demands concerning political and economic citizenship were crucial during the first wave women's movement, and this was still the case for the 1970s movement. "More women into politics" was one goal many worked towards. In 1971 an organised action aimed at women gaining positions in local politics enjoyed surprisingly good (and for many, scary) results (Haukaa 1982:29-30). One of the first unifying issues of the women's movement was the opposition to Norway joining the EU (EEC). This was one of the issues where women from the women's movement could unite across the divide between "socialists" and "feminists". Some argued that Norwegian women's conditions would be worse if Norway joined the union, and also that Norwegian women could have no influence on the decisions made in Brussels – this formed part of an anti-centralization argument (Haukaa 1982:37-41). The rights to paid work, equal pay and decent working conditions were also central demands. The economically independent woman was certainly the ideal of the feminist movement, and "the working woman" was an important symbolic figure of strength and solidarity. Several strikes by working women were strongly supported by the new women's movement, and became important symbols for solidarity and sisterhood. It also helped to root the demands of the new women's movement among the "real

women”, the workers. Songs and articles were written, and money sent in support. Some of the supported strikes were those of women producing fishing equipment in Brattvåg (Haukaa 1982:102), and of cleaning ladies in Trondheim and Bergen (Haukaa 1982:106).

The Norwegian women’s movement in the 1970s was complex, and housed a variety of differences and conflicts of interest. Despite these differences, there did however seem to be overall consensus around what were the important demands and issues (Haukaa 1982:136). There was also consensus on the need to widen the understanding of the idea of ‘politics’. What had earlier been written off as ‘private matters’ or ‘women’s stuff’ now became important both with regard to the mobilization and emotions of the movement, and in terms of the issues the movement chose to highlight and fight for.

2.5. Demands and Conflicts Regarding Intimate Citizenship in the Norwegian Women’s Movement.

Partnership

Judicially there were no major demands from the 1970s women’s movement linked to **marriage and divorce**. Historian Kari Melby argues that the Nordic marriage model which was implemented between 1909 and 1929 is an early example of state feminism. These new laws defined marriage as a modern, secular institution, a pact between two independent and free individuals. Characteristic also was liberal access to divorce and the fact that partners were seen as economic equals (Melby 2000 & 2006). The main issue causing heated debate during the 1970s was that of different tax brackets for housewives and women with paid jobs. Discussions on the *content* of marriage were also present from the start of the movement in the early 1970s, and these highlight many of the different agendas and positions in regard to intimate citizenship. How should the new generations of conscious women relate to a (hopefully) new generation of conscious men? How could a heterosexual relationship destabilize instead of reproduce the power-relations of patriarchy? Should the women’s movement revolutionize personal relations, or would the work of the women’s movement automatically help to reform them? There were many different positions regarding marriage in the women’s movement. While some were against state involvement in love relationships, others focused more on what they saw as necessary

changes within the institution. While some abandoned couplehood, monogamy or heterosexuality, others focused more on necessary changes in the relationship between men and women. The Maoist party *AKP m-l* primarily wanted to strengthen the working class family in its struggle against capitalism. Sexism was primarily seen as a result of bourgeois feudalism, and sexism had to be overcome without destroying the family. This movement was against “free love” and argued that the long term goal should be to create new people who would be able to develop relationships built on love and equality, on real family democracy (G.H. in *Røde Fane* 1972, in Haukaa 1982:79-80). Some of the feminists in *Kvinnefronten* were loyal to this platform. Some of *Nyfeministene* on the other hand argued that the nuclear family was central to patriarchy and had to be abolished (Haukaa 1982:81-83). There were major confrontations over slogans such as “Defend the family” on one side, and “No to motherhood” and “No to forced fucking” on the other (Haukaa 1982:83). Haukaa argues that these debates about family were really about heterosexual marriage (Haukaa 1982:85).

The question of **non-marital heterosexual relationships** was to some extent an issue in the debates about marriage. However, the norms regarding cohabitation were rapidly changing in Norwegian society and as a result of this the sleeping law paragraph on concubinage [living together without marriage] was removed in 1972 (Roseneil, Crowhurst, Hellesund, Santos and Stoilova 2008:157-158). This question never became an important issue in the women’s movement, probably because there didn’t seem to be a great need to defend cohabitation; it does not seem to have been a central debate in Norway.

The lack of focus on **same-sex issues and same-sex relationships** in the women’s movement was one of the reasons why *Lesbisk bevegelse* [The Lesbian Movement] was founded in 1975. Same-sex relationships were seen as a lesbian rather than a woman’s issue. *Lesbisk bevegelse* became one of the strong organizations within the new women’s movement, and inside this movement there were many debates on same-sex relationships. When the debate on domestic partnership for lesbians/gays came up around 1990, the feminist lesbian movement no longer existed. The general women’s movement was not active on this issue, and did not participate in the public debate.

Generally the women’s movement was far more focussed on relationships than on **single people and solo-living**. Solo living was both statistically rare and an ideologically unarticulated and

undefended position in the 1970s and 1980s. Single life and its challenges were almost solely discussed in terms of single motherhood. This is illustrated by slogans suggested within the *Kvinnefrontens* in 1972, including, “Better conditions for married women and unmarried women with children” [Bedre økonomiske kår for gifte kvinner og ugifte kvinner med barn] (Kampdager 2008).

A central tension within the Norwegian women’s movement was the one between **waged work and traditional care and domestic work – career women against housewives** (Danielsen 2008). The new women’s movement criticized the traditional (and very large) women’s organizations like *Husmorforbundet* [The Housewife Association], who held that the recognition of housewifery as a distinct profession was a central gender issue. Characteristics of the role of the housewife, like being the primary carer of husband and children, were by many feminists seen as a threat against women’s rights to enjoy waged work and their rights to freedom and autonomy (Danielsen 2008). Activist Rønnaug Eliassen wrote in 1973 that the greatest danger for married women was that their life still was “*a life through someone elses*”:

The fact that she usually takes on the status of the husband in all aspects of life, arrests her development. A marriage rarely is what it should be: a voluntary *samliv* [life together] between two independent persons, founded in mutuality and cooperation (Eliassen 1973:98).

There was however (ambivalent) discussions around issues like a specific wage for care work. Should that be a demand for the women’s movement? (Grennes 1976, Grennes 1978). Depending on which part of women’s experiences was in focus, different demands were developed and formulated. Questions central to the discussion included which societal changes women should work towards: recognition and acknowledging of care work, or the transformation of waged work? Which feminine qualities should the movement emphasize: care or independence, motherhood or professional identity?

The issues of national citizenship and immigration were almost invisible in the Norwegian women’s movement. A minor demand raised was that mothers should have the right to determine the child’s citizenship. According to the Law on Norwegian Citizenship, a child born to a Norwegian woman could not get Norwegian citizenship if the child had a foreign father, and if

the child lived abroad. At the annual meeting of *Kvinnefronten* in 1974, members demanded women's right to influence the national citizenship of the child (Halså 1982:126).

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

The right to **abortion** became the biggest unifying cause for feminists during the 1970s. The lack of self-chosen abortion was seen as one of the most visible signs of the oppression of women (Haukaa 1982:27). Abortion was one of the first causes taken up by the new women's movement and all the organizations agreed on this issue. On 9 November 1973, 1200 women and men demonstrated in Oslo to support free abortion. Similar demonstrations took place in Germany, Austria, Denmark and the US¹⁹. All feminist organizations united on this issue (the unity dissolved in the last years before the law was passed), and there was a wealth of local activities. Public opinion on the matter changed rapidly (Haukaa 1982:98-101). A more liberal law on abortion was passed in the Norwegian parliament in 1975, but not until 1978 did the "free abortion law" get passed. This law came into practice 1 December 1978. The "free" or "self-chosen" abortion-law in Norway states that a woman – after receiving advice about help available– can decide to terminate a pregnancy until the 12th week. After week 12, the woman can apply for an abortion through an abortion committee. Two doctors then make the decision²⁰.

It has been argued that the struggle for "free abortion" together with the struggle for women's right to vote have been the two most important issues of the whole history of the Norwegian women's movement (Bjerck 2007). Both managed to mobilize large segments of the population and were major unifying issues among feminists. Bjerck argues that the struggle for free abortion became so important and so emotionally charged because it touched upon several important issues in the new women's movement: "sexuality, women's bodies, reproduction, ethics, power, powerlessness, men's rights versus women's rights, women's destiny, women's history, class, international solidarity and patriarchy" (Bjerck 2007). One can argue that the feminist victory on abortion in 1978 was the end of an era for the new women's movement.

¹⁹ <http://www.kampdager.no/arkiv/abort/abortkamp/index.html>

²⁰ It is interesting to note that it is broad consensus in Norway to see self-chosen abortion until week 12 as "free" abortion and as a very liberal law.

Women as mothers have been a central focus of the Norwegian women's movement. The organization *Ammehjelpen* [Breastfeeding help] was started by ten women in 1968 (Haukaa 1982:18-19), and several of these women were also behind the crucial Jo Freeman meeting in Oslo in 1970. The breast-feeding movement has had a major impact until the present. Home births never became popular in Norway, but the "birth-activists" of the 1970s have had a major impact on hospital births (Fjell 1998). The ideals of these activists have to a large extent become the official politics and have been integrated into the welfare state. The *nyfeminist*-oriented feminists expressed this focus on women's bodies and bodily processes as a way of recapturing lost knowledge and of taking this back from the so-called experts (Stenøien 2003:89).

The issue of how to combine work and family life was much-debated within the Norwegian women's movement. The battle for day-care became a central demand. In 1971 *Nyfeministene* hosted an exhibition where the main focus was the condition of children in Norway. It emphasised the need for more and better **child-care**, as well as the problems of traffic safety and child mortality (Haukaa 1982:28). Later the struggle for day-care became one of the key issues that *Kvinnefronten* took on. The organisation stressed how much this was a real, economic and material issue (Haukaa 1982:83).

The focus on **care** in the Norwegian women's movement was mainly about the care for children, and potentially also the wife's care for the husband. There was also a focus on men needing to develop their care skills (Haukaa 1982:75). Particularly in the first years of the movement there was little focus on care for the elderly, care for other relations, or for friends. The majority of members were of an age where care for children was the main task. Care had also been a main agenda in many of the conservative women's organizations (*Husmorlagene*, *Sanitetsforeningen*, etc), and the issue might have seemed less relevant to the new women's movement because of this existing work.

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

In the new women's movement, sexuality became a central focus of discussion both in regard to a new female subjectivity, to power relations between the two genders and to new constellations of relationships and households. Books such as *Kvinne kjenn din kropp* (1976) and *Det autoriserte samleie* (*The authorized sexual intercourse*) (Clod 1977) closely reflect popular myths about the

1970's. They became important for debates about identity within the movement. Access to contraception, such as the pill, also explains how reproduction and sexuality could be decoupled. Parallel to the women's movement, sexual liberationists fought for better sex-education and easier access to contraception, and opposed censorship. Within the movement, issues of sexuality were a major contribution to conflict. One aspect of this concerned the question of lesbian women's position within the women's movement. However, issues related to sexuality could also work as unifying forces, such as in the fight for abortion rights and against pornography (at least for a while).

To some extent the **regulation of sexual practice** was also an issue, mainly focusing on giving women more **sexual autonomy and pleasure**. There has never been any judicial regulation of sexual practices like oral or anal sex in Norway, and there has mainly been consensus about the legal age which has been 16 years old (for homosexuals as well as heterosexuals) since 1902. The ban on male homosexuality was removed in 1972, but the women's movement, including high-profile feminists, did not take part in this debate (the movement had hardly started organizing when this battle was won).

When family planning activist Katti Anker Møller and her followers started to campaign for **sex education, contraception and abortion** around 1900, they were usually strongly opposed by pioneer feminist positions. While Møller and later generations of sex-educators saw contraception and abortion as a way to liberate women, many of the first wave feminists saw it as a tool for men gaining stronger power over women. The prominent feminist Nico Hambro expressed the essence of this first wave of sexual politics when she argued that contraception should be illegal because it would make it easier for men to "assault" women. In 1922 she wrote in the feminist magazine *Nylænde*:

All ease of responsibility to men and women in these issues leads only to freedom for the gospel of the flesh and licentiousness, and that is the ruin of our sex because we by nature is the weakest part in these relations. This is the core of the women's cause. All its work can be summed up in the words: it raises us from beings of the flesh to beings of the mind and spirit (Hambro in Hellesund 2003:89).

An intense cultural battle between the old "Victorian" sexual politics and the new "liberated" one ensued, especially during the mid-war years. The first wave feminists, – the "spinsters" – lost this cultural battle (Hellesund 2003). The strong movement campaigning for contraception,

abortion and sexual freedom during the mid-war era (with links to Wilhelm Reich and the Sexpol movement) would come to have tremendous influence within Norwegian society, as individuals who played an important part in this movement also came to hold crucial posts within the Norwegian welfare state (for example, Karl Evang, Director General of Health from 1938-1940 and 1945-1972).

The Norwegian pioneers of birth control and sexual education in this period wanted to teach the population about sex so they could have a healthier sex life. While their ambition was sexual liberation, parts of their teaching also attempted to restrict and discipline behaviour (Hellesund 2003:195-202). Female physician, psychoanalyst, feminist and socialist Nic. Waal was a central actor in the mid-war area. She “promoted intercourse as the ultimate source of sexual happiness” (Danielsen 2008). In her recommended 2-3 minutes foreplay, playing with body parts such as clitoris and penis head was allowed, but she warned that:

In adult sexuality, playing with these parts of the body gives no orgasm/relief [utløsning], but the desire for intercourse will arise in both men and women (Waal 1932, in Danielsen 2008).

Despite the normative focus on intercourse and vaginal orgasm, the aim of Nic. Waal and other sexual liberationists of the mid-war era was to break the bond between sexuality and reproduction, and give women as well as men the knowledge they needed to reach optimum sexual happiness and health (Danielsen 2008). Sexual health was seen as crucial for a healthy and happy society (Hellesund 2003:195-202).

The exclusivity of intercourse and the vaginal orgasm was something that was heavily criticized in the Norwegian women’s movement in the 1970s (Danielsen 2008). A particular inspiration was the translation of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective’s, *Our Bodies Ourselves* (1973), translated as *Kvinne kjenn din kropp* in 1976. Anne Koedt’s article “The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm” was also widely read within the Norwegian women’s movement (ibid.).

Although several publications, such as *Kvinne kjenn din kropp* [Our Bodies Ourselves] and Torild Skard’s *Halve jorden* [Half of the world], were careful to stress their recognition of lesbian readers, the main focus of the sexual politics of the Norwegian women’s movement in the 1970s was on women who had men as sexual partners. There were several reasons for this. It was partly

the result of the relative homogeneity of Norwegian society, and the numerical marginality of different sexual minorities. For example, “transgender” as a category did not become visible in Norway until the 1990s, and it was certainly not an issue taken up by the new women’s movement either in the 1970s or in the present time. On the other hand, no one in Norway has explicitly attacked the idea of transgender as being anti-feminist (in contrast to influential feminists living elsewhere, such as Sheila Jeffreys and Elaine Showalter).

A distinct issue and area of conflict within the Norwegian women’s movement, which also concerns intimate citizenship, **was lesbianism versus heterosexuality**. The conflict between lesbianism and heterosexuality both highlighted ideological differences and conflicts of interest within the movement. Tensions existed between those who wanted to protect feminists from being labeled ugly, man hating and lesbian, and between those who actively chose a separatist line. New research suggests that this is a surprisingly unifying conflict across western countries (cf. Brown 2008, Scharff 2008). This conflict did not only split organizations and create new ones, but it was also an everyday challenge individual feminists had to face at meetings, when attacked by anti-feminists, and within their personal relationships. To what extent was this issue of importance in the active days of the movement? One might suspect that such conflicts have been under-communicated in later descriptions and stories about the movement. Several of the lesbians in *Nyfeministene* reported that it was hard to raise the issue of lesbianism in the organization because the heterosexual women suddenly seemed to have lost their interest for debate when this issue was raised. While some heterosexuals actively opposed the visibility of lesbians and lesbianism, silence seemed a more fundamental problem than active opposition (Haukaa 1982:130). Some of the lesbian feminists wanted to form a specific lesbian feminist organization. While they argued that *Nyfeministene* did not have room for lesbian struggle, they felt the existing homosexual organization DNF-48, did not have room for feminist struggle. The AKP m-l members of DNF’48 were particularly accused of being insensitive to the demands from lesbian feminists (Andresen 1975). Other lesbian members argued strongly that it was better to locate the struggle within the existing organizations than to break out and found new ones (Bjerck 1983). A group did however decide to withdraw (but did not resign), and they founded *Lesbisk bevegelse* on 5 September 1975 (Haukaa 1982:131-133). In addition to specific “lesbian issues”, *Lesbisk bevegelse* also campaigned for self-chosen abortion, equal pay, and against the commercial exploitation of women’s bodies, Norwegian membership of the EU, nuclear power,

capitalism and nuclear families (Haukaa 1982:133). In an article written in 1983, one of those sceptical of a separate lesbian movement, Birgit Bjerck, argued that the lesbian movement never became the ghetto she feared, and that the movement had extensive cooperation with other parts of the movement. She also argued that lesbian separatism has played a very minor role in the Norwegian women's movement (Bjerck 1983:22). Haukaa discusses the accusations of the debates about lesbianism dividing *Nyfeministene* carefully (cf. Helsing, Monsen & Modal 1979, Larsen 1983), but argues that these debates were not the reason for the decline. For example, the withdrawal of members was equally large in cities where the lesbian divide was not very visible (visibility was greatest in Oslo and Porsgrunn) and most of the lesbians withdrawing did not explain their action as politically-motivated (Haukaa 1982:135).

The extensive debate regarding *man-hate* should also be seen as part of the lesbianism/heterosexuality divide. Haukaa describes a magazine article in 1972 by a horrified male journalist writing about a meeting in Oslo where Germaine Greer spoke. The article was entitled "Down with all men" and "Men are our enemies". Haukaa argues that already in 1972 the link between man-hate and the new women's movement were understood by conservatives and radicals alike (Haukaa 1982:16-17). Some of the accusations of man-hating feminists came from members of *Kvinnefronten* in the period where it was highly dominated by members of AKP m-l. One of the agendas on the *Kvinnefront*'s "get rid of feminism" campaign in 1974, was to tone down issues like sexual oppression and attitude campaigns (Haukaa 1982:116).

Whilst Haukaa argues that lesbianism/man-hate was not a reason for the decline of *Nyfeministene*, the co-editor of the magazine *Sirene* counters that the magazine was discontinued partly as a result of a debate concerning sexuality, pornography and hatred of men.²¹ Elisabeth Lønnå argues that the position *Sirene* took towards porn (positive) against that of the rest of the women's movement (negative), caused a massive loss of subscribers. In the last edition, 6 September 1983, the editors accused the "sex-negative man-hating" feminists based in "lesbian theory" of having murdered the magazine (Lønnå 1996:280). During 1982-83 the co-editor of *Sirene*, IdaLou Larsen, defended soft porn, ridiculed feminist interest in incest and sexual

²¹ Already after 1975, the oplagsnummer of *Sirene* had started to fall, it received massive criticism for its profile from the late 1970s, and in 1982 it had to be saved from discontinuation by a støtteakjsjon. There are reasons to believe that *Sirene* would have been discontinued at this time with or without the man-hate debate (Lønnå 1996:279).

harassment and criticized parts of the women's movement for having developed a hatred of men that scared many women, as well as men, away from the movement. She was again criticized for being out of touch with the women's movement, and for lacking solidarity (Lønnå 1996:279-280). The book *Mannfolk. 13 innlegg om mannshat i kvinnekampen* [*Men. 13 texts about man-hatred in the women's movement*] (1983) was a result of this debate. In this book, IdaLou Larsen argues that a hatred of men particularly developed in the feminist movement from 1978 onwards, and that the focus on sexual violence had developed into a problematic theory of all men as potential perpetrators, and all women as victims. This theory also assumed that patriarchy was founded on men's hatred towards women (Larsen 1983:30-32). Larsen goes further and states that the theory of men hating women is a lesbian theory that can never be a base for "the other, broad part of the women's movement" (Larsen 1983:37-38). Towards the end of her article, Larsen opposes what she sees as "a systematic suspicion of men's sexuality that will confine heterosexual women's erotic freedom and lead to a new Puritanism" (Larsen 1983:35-36). She claims that this new Puritanism already seems to be established in Norway by 1983. In addition to discussions of prostitution and the activities of the shelter movement and the anti-incest movement, Larsen's claims also related to the debates on pornography and sexual politics. After this book, another newspaper debate followed; the writing of Nina Karin Monsen was particularly harsh towards the "lesbian man-haters" (Lønnå 1996:281).

Gender and Sexual Violence

When Jo Freeman visited Norway in 1970, one of her mobilizing claims was that women were portrayed as sex-objects in the media and in commercials (Haukaa 1982:54). Several of the first actions were directed against the **objectification of women**. In 1972 *Nyfeministene* and *Kvinnefronten* united in a demonstration against oppressive commercials in the Oslo movie theatres (Haukaa 1982:103). There were also many demonstrations against striptease shows, against the 'Miss' tournaments, and so on (Haukaa 1982:105).

In the 1983 debate on man hatred, Else Michelet specifically addresses the question of objectification. IdaLou Larsen wrote that she did not mind being seen as a sex object by men, as long as she was free to do the same towards them (Larsen in Michelet 1983:110). Michelet

countered that as an object one can't have any agency (ibid.), and thus objectifications is purely bad.

The struggle against sexualized violence has been an important part of the Norwegian women's movement, and the movement has had an impact both on laws and regulations in this field, and on the development of the organizations and structures that the state now uses to deal with some of these issues. In the Norwegian context the debate regarding pornography is mainly linked to the category of "sexualized violence", although a very small minority of feminists also talked about pornography in a more "sex-positive" way.

After the abortion battle was won in 1978, **anti-pornography** emerged as the unifying feminist cause in the late 1970s. As in many other western countries, particularly the US, sexual oppression became an increasingly important issue in the feminist movement towards the end of the 1970s. Unity on these issues did not last for long, however, and a new division became visible between the "puritans" and the "sex-liberals" (the sex-positives versus anti-pornographers or radical feminists as they are often called in the US). The "Joint Women's Action against Pornography and Prostitution" became a reality in the late 1970s [Kvinnernes Fellesaksjon mot pornografi] (October 1977)/ [Fellesaksjonen mot pornografi og prostitusjon] (May 1981). These umbrella organizations collected a wide variety of women's organizations, from conservative and Christian, to feminist (Haukaa 1982:170).

In the US, feminists like Robin Morgan, Andrea Dworkin, and Catharine MacKinnon were among those who argued that pornography and sadomasochism exemplified male modes of sexuality, a sexuality that is the main force behind the oppression of women. In opposition to this "puritan" view, a more explicit sex-positive feminist position developed. Lisa Duggan and Nan D. Hunter are among those who have named these conflicts the "sex wars" (Duggan and Hunter 1995). The ninth conference of "The Feminist and the Scholar" at Barnard College, New York City, 1982, is often mentioned as the first battlefield in this war (Dejanikus 1982, Moira 1982, Wilson 1983). Lesbian feminists were proponents of both these positions.

In Norway the largest and most visible feminist opposition against pornography started in 1977. In the fall of 1977 *Nyfeministene* made a travelling exhibition about pornography, and members of *Kvinnefronten* stormed pornography-sellers and made bonfires of porn magazines in the

streets. As a result of these activities and debates, women from Senterpartiet (a conservative, rural invested political party) initiated an umbrella organization against porn, *Fellesaksjonen mot pornografi*. Many feminist as well as conservative women's organizations joined, but not *Kvinnefronten*. In 1981, the organization was renamed to also include prostitution, *Fellesaksjonen mot pornografi og prostitusjon*, and it opened up also for organizations that did not identify as women's organizations (Haukaa 1982:170-171). At first there seemed to be relative unity on this issue, although some voices in *Nyfeministene* accused *Fellesaksjonen* of being too puritanical in regard to sexuality (Haukaa 1982:171).

Brita Gulli wrote about "The Pornographical Society", in *Kvinneråd* 2/1978. She starts by referring to Kinsey, who reports that while the majority of men are aroused by porn, the majority of women are not. This is a view she supports. The objectification of women in pornography, objectification with the purpose of arousing men and maintaining men's dominance over women, is the main complaint (ibid.), and she also suggests a strong link between porn and rape. This line of argument was the dominating position in the Norwegian women's movement in the (late) 1970s and 1980s. In their article in the man-hatred book from 1983, prostitution researchers Liv Finstad (identified as lesbian) and Cecilie Høigaard (identified as heterosexual) articulate the dominant feminist views on sexuality at the time: That "good sexuality", for men and for women, is about "warmth, love, and the desire for being loved as a whole person" (Finstad & Høigård 1983:58-59). They see prostitution as consumption of women, and strongly disapprove (ibid. 59). Further on in the book anti porn-activist Unni Rustad also emphasizes that sexuality should be about "intimacy and closeness" (Rustad 1983:65), and the title of her article "Pornography is drugs for scared men" also sends a quite unambiguous message about what pornography is.

In 1991 the organization *Ottar* was founded (kvinnegruppa-ottar.no) and rapidly became one of the strongest and most visible feminist groups in Norway during the 1990s. *Ottar* clearly is a continuation of the branch of feminist sexual politics that sees sexualized oppression and violence as the core of patriarchy. However, in a radio interview from 2008, cited on the homepage of *Ottar*, the leader of the organization, Ane Stø, touches on both the man-hate debate, and also articulates a different view on women and pornography than the above cited texts from 1983. While asked if the women of *Ottar* hate men, Stø ironically answers "as often as we can". In the interview Stø admits that she also gets horny watching porn. "I am created the same way as

anyone else”. The fundamental problem about porn however remains the same as in the 1970s/1980s: women are reduced to second class citizens through the sale of bodies and sex. “*Ottar* works for a society that is so gender-equal that we also are turned on by equality” (P4 2008). The change in feminists’ relationship to porn (from utter disgust to admittance of “obviously being turned on”) could be analysed in many different ways – as progress and liberation of female sexuality; as primary focus on the structural harms of pornography rather than on the individual watching it; as a result of the general sexualisation of society; or as an example of how impossible a “man-hating”/puritan or “sex-negative” position is in contemporary Norway.

A hotline for victims of **domestic violence** was opened in Oslo in 1977 (Hildre 1983:77). The first shelter (in Norwegian: crisis centre) in the Nordic countries was opened in Oslo in 1978. Presently local women’s groups initiated new shelters, and in 2008 Norway have 50 local shelters and 5 hotlines for battered women spread out across Norway. Initially all crisis centres were a part of the Crisis center movement, but several internal conflicts have divided the shelters between different organizations. Seen from the outside the differences are marginal, and the platform adopted in 1982, still expresses the main ideology of the Norwegian shelter movement: “Violence and battering of women is a part of the oppression of women. The oppression of women is founded in society.” The central government pays 50% of the shelter budgets, and they have to apply to the local government to get the rest of the funding (Krisesenterbevegelsen 2008).

The Norwegian women’s movement primarily framed **prostitution** as sexualized violence and as a symbol of women’s social situation. In regard to prostitution, what has been illegal in Norway is:

- a) to promote the prostitution of others
- b) rent out housing/rooms used for prostitution
- c) publicly offer, arrange or demand prostitution

Prostitution is defined as a person having sexual relations (this includes a wide range of sexual activities) with another person for payment. The law does not mention genders, and the law is equal regarding both male and female prostitution. In 1986, criminologists Cecilie Høygård and

Liv Finstad mobilized the women's movement to fight prostitution through their book *Bakgater* [*Backstreets*]. Since then, there have regularly been debates on prostitution, particularly on the visible prostitution like the flowering of massage parlours during the 1990s and foreign women selling sex in Norway (Russian prostitutes in Finmark in the late 1990s, Nigerian prostitutes in the mid 2000) (Jahnsen 2009). The Department of Justice considered a ban of the selling/buying of sex already in 1982-83 (ibid.). The last debate on banning prostitution became very active in the spring/summer 2007, and it culminated in a banning of the buying of sex. While the organizations for prostitutes and most researchers in the field were strongly opposed to this (arguing that it will make it much harder and much more dangerous for women working as prostitutes), it has been more and more accepted that the general feminist/politically correct standpoint should be prohibition. In 2008, the new law was passed in the parliament and was in effect on 1 January 2009.

Work against **rape**, **incest** and **sexual harassment** was also something most feminists identified with. Especially rape and sexual harassment were seen as social control mechanisms, serving to keep women in their place (Lykkjen 1976:37). Rape was fought through self-defence classes, "take back the night" marches, and a focus on the treatment of victims in emergency rooms, at police stations and in the judicial system. The first support center against incest was established in Oslo in 1986. The main strategy towards sexual harassment was to demand judicial protection against employers.

The feminist shelter movement, the anti-incest movement, the anti-prostitution movement and to a certain extent also the focus on rape, has had major societal impact. The shelter movement and anti-incest movement are now financed by the state to work for women who are victims of domestic violence and incest. The shelters can be seen as a tool and solution for the state, while at the same time they have maintained a large amount of autonomy. The shelter movement developed a structure for dealing with victims of domestic violence, and the welfare state has since assumed responsibility for the issue. The women's movement's focus on rape has initiated rape-receptions in emergency rooms, and a greater focus on investigating rape by the police. However, still less than 10% of the reported rapes lead to sentence (cf. Roseneil, Crowhurst, Hellesund, Santos & Stoilova 2008:145).

In their book about NGOs and the Norwegian welfare state, political scientists Nina Berven and Per Selle argues that NGOs in the health and welfare sector have developed and shaped particular understandings of reality through their institutions, properties and money, but also through their knowledge and role as suppliers of terms and conditions (Berven and Selle 2001). Spinsters and members of the first wave women's movement outlined and worked for different kinds of welfare reforms. Through their social and pedagogical work they strengthened their position in public life and prepared the way for political and economic citizenship. They also shaped significant parts of the new welfare state according to their vision (Hellesund 2003). In the same way women of the second feminist wave also initiated several welfare reforms that later have been adopted or taken over by the welfare state. In many cases the welfare state has also adopted the feminist agendas of the founders.

The accusations of (lesbian) man-hatred seem to be particularly closely linked to feminists working against sexualized violence. These accusations came both from within the feminist movement (cf. Larsen 1983) and from the "male press" (male magazines and soft porn magazines) (Express nr 9/82, Kriminalmagasinet 2/83, in Finstad & Høigård 1983) and the mainstream press (Nå 41/81, in Hildre 1983).

In addition to the conflicts over the right socialist/Marxist/Maoist route to women's liberation, issues around sexuality and definitions of sexualized violence appear to have created the most heated arguments within the movement. These divisions also seem to highlight fundamental questions regarding what Western feminism is and should be, and what women's sexuality is really like.

Debates regarding puritan or sex-positive positions have been present in the Norwegian feminist movement since the 1890s; so too have accusations of lesbianism and hatred of men, and the assurances from certain groups of feminists that they are heterosexual and like men (Hellesund 2003).

The struggles regarding abortion, pornography and prostitution are some of the issues closely associated with the new women's movement, even today. The feminist position is usually seen as the "puritan" one. In 2009 a new law banning the purchase of sex (in Norway and abroad) will be in force. The proponents of this law have mainly been the women's organizations of the political

parties, prominent amongst which is that of the labour party. It could be argued that Norwegian State feminism has adopted the puritan line in regard to feminist sexual politics.

2.6. Conclusion

How important were intimate citizenship issues in the new women's movement in Norway? I will argue that this question cannot be answered on a general basis. Looking at the formal demands raised by the movement and its policy impact, intimate citizenship issues might not be in the foreground. Looking at the cultural and emotional development of the movement, and the movement's ability to mobilize tens of thousands of women, issues around intimacy seems to have been crucial (abortion, romantic/sexual relationships, sexual pleasure and pornography/prostitution). Issues concerning intimate citizenship might also have played an important role in the decline of the autonomous movement in the early 1980s (conflicts over pornography, prostitution and man-hatred/lesbianism), but that remains yet to be explored.

A very small amount of research has been done on the Norwegian women's movement in the 1970s. That means many of the suggestions in this paper might be challenged and altered after thorough research is done. Presently the project: *When the personal became political. The Norwegian women's movement in the 1970s* is taking place at the Rokkansenteret in Bergen. This project will result in several publications and PhDs, and will be a major contribution to the history of the Norwegian women's movement. This project is planned to be finished in 2011.

Part II: Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change in Norway

2.7. Black/Minority/Ethnic/Anti-Racist Movement

There are around 1000 immigrant organizations in Norway, and Line Nyhagen Predelli argues that about 150 of these are predominantly directed towards women and/or girls. The first immigrant organizations in Norway were established in the 1970s, mostly by unskilled workers, to take care of the needs of the so-called “foreign/alien workers” [fremmedarbeidere] (Predelli 2006, in Eggebø, Halsaa, Skjeie & Thun 2007:12). Religion was also the basis for many of the first immigrant organizations. In later years, organizations with a national, ethnic or cultural foundation have become the most widespread (ibid.). While many local organizations clearly are founded by minority citizens/groups themselves, Melve argues that most of the national immigrant organizations are *for* rather than *by* immigrants (Melve 2003:74, in Eggebø, Halsaa, Skjeie & Thun 2007:10).

In the late 1970s the first immigrant women’s groups appeared. The Foreign Women’s Group (1978) was a pioneer in the field. The organization was closed down in the 1980s, but was continued through the establishment of MiRA Resource Center, created in 1989 (Predelli 2003:4, in Eggebø, Halsaa, Skjeie & Thun 2007:10-11). MiRA is an organization by and for immigrant women. They cooperate with many different organizations based on ethnicity or nationality. MiRA did probably formulate the earliest critique of the lack of non-whites and non-white perspectives in the Norwegian women’s movement. In their self-presentation in December 2008, they wrote:

The aim of The MiRA Resource Centre is to promote equality for black, immigrant and refugee women in Norway. We try to increase awareness about the specific conditions that often determine the life cycle of minority women. Through well-established legal and social services, information and networking, The MiRA Centre tries to strengthen immigrant and refugee women's position in society. The MiRA Centre is also a place for self organisation and has created a space for minority women to define their own realities. (Accessed 17 December 2008 at: <http://www.mirasenteret.no/spraak/eng.html>)

In the Norwegian context black/minority/ethnic organizations are usually categorized and framed as *immigrant* organizations. The exception is the minority organizations connected to so-called national minorities, among whom the Sami's are the largest group. The possible foundations for minority based citizenship in contemporary Norway are national minority and immigrant status (Skjeie & Teigen 2007a; 200b, in Eggebø, Halsaa, Skjeie & Thun 2007:14). In 2008, the MiRA resource center underlines that they are "an organization for black, immigrant and refugee women in Norway". On earlier organization material it says that MiRA is "the migrant and refugee women's association". The view that all non-whites in Norway are, or should be seen and described as, "immigrants" has only recently started to be challenged in Norway. Some of the intimate citizenship issues many of these organisations have engaged with include sexualized violence, sexuality (for example, virginity), forced marriages and female circumcision/mutilation. For a far more thorough discussion of the relationship between black/minority/ethnic/anti-racist movements and feminist demands, see Halsaa, Predelli and Thun 2008: *Women's movements: Constructions of sisterhood, dispute and resonance: The case of Norway*.

2.8. The Lesbian and Gay Movement

It is probable that different communities of same-sex partnership can be traced some way back in Norwegian history. Unfortunately only a few historical studies of same-sex sexuality have been conducted in the Norwegian context. Sexual relations between men were illegal in Norway from about 1100 until 1972. Sexual relations between women have never been formally illegal. In the Norse era (700-1350, the Viking era), the accusation of unmanliness was the worst form of defamation. The term *Ergi* was used to describe unmanliness or weakness, and it was often used to describe a man who "let himself be used as a woman", the "passive partner" in anal intercourse. In the middle ages, the understanding of sex between men as *Ergi* was replaced by a Christian based understanding of sex between men (and between men and animals) as sodomy or "fornication against nature." In the late 19th Century, this understanding was again replaced by an understanding of same-sex relations as a disease (Jordåen 2003), which again was replaced during the 20th Century by an understanding of homosexuality as an inborn disposition (*legning*), which was no longer seen as a disease (e.g. Jordåen 2003, Stenvoll 2003). A new law concerning male homosexuality was introduced in 1902. It stressed that homosexuality was only to be prosecuted if the actions performed did public damage (Jordåen 2003:38-46 and Halsos 1999). In

this regard, the law differed significantly from laws on homosexuality in many other countries (e.g. Sweden), and it meant that only very few cases of homosexuality were taken to court. During the debates around the new law in 1902, some suggested that sex between women also should be included in the new law. A prominent cabinet minister then declared: “Sexual relations between two women—have you ever heard such a thing? It is an impossibility” (Jordåen 2003:39).

The modern homosexual identity movement can be traced back to 1950, when a branch of the Danish homophile organization *Forbundet af 1948* was established in Norway. The Danish organization was named as a reference to the declaration of Human Rights from 1948 (Heli 2006). In 1952, the Norwegian branch was formalized as a separate organization with the name *The Norwegian association of 1948* (DNF-48).

New forms of activism took place during the radical waves of the 1970s and 1980s, and the lesbian and gay movement experienced major divisions and conflicts, as well as diversity and creativity. After much turmoil during this period, different parts of lesbian and gay Norway were reunited in 1992 in the organization now called LLH [The Norwegian National Association of Lesbian and Gay Liberation]. LLH focuses public and government attention on cases of discrimination against LGB people by lobbying, providing information and working with other organizations and national media. Since 1992, LLH has been responsible for a very successful identity politics, with strong ties to powerful political allies. The biggest successes of this movement are The Act on Partnership in 1993 and the new, gender-neutral Marriage Act in 2009. The Norwegian lesbian and gay organizations have a strong tradition of using lobbying towards authorities as the main strategy for gaining support and influence.

LLH is presently the only national lesbian/gay rights organization. LLH has about 2,000 members, spread out over 15 local chapters. Some of the local lesbian/gay/queer organizations are associated with the LLH, while others are autonomous entities. New forms of LGBT communities can be found on the Internet. The main lesbian/gay website Gaysir.no has more than 42,000 registered users.²²

²² January 2009, <http://www.gaysir.no/>

Both on a national and local level, the state provides funding to lesbian and gay organizations and their activities. This includes health work, information work, cultural work, and the running of the national lesbian and gay organization (LLH). The state also gives similar support to other voluntary organizations. In 1951, the new lesbian/gay organization DNF'48 published the first Norwegian pamphlet about homosexuality. Here they also introduced the concept "homofil" (homophile), a concept much used by liberation movements of the 1940s and 1950s in Western Europe and the US. Norway might be the only country still using this as the main concept for same-sex sexuality (Jordåen 2003:91). The word homofil is taken from Latin. Homos meaning same, and philein meaning to love. The term was first used in a Norwegian newspaper in 1965.²³ DNF'48 wanted this word to replace the term "homosexual," to get rid of the negative sexual connotations of the latter. Homofil is the most common and – apart from within (academic) queer circles – the most politically correct term for same-sex lovers in contemporary Norway. The term "legning" (inborn disposition) is also almost universally used in Norway, despite its strong links to essentialist views on homosexuality. It is frequently used in public debates concerning homosexuality. It was probably introduced by homophile activists to replace the view of homosexuality as a diagnosis. "Legning" can also be translated to "sexual identity," if "identity" is understood in strictly essentialist terms. The Norwegian language differs from English on important points in regard to intimate citizenship. Although the specific language around homosexuality seems quite traditional or old-fashioned when seen from an Anglo-American context, public language around intimate life and intimate policy in many other contexts seems quite inclusive of same-sex relationships and same-sex families (Roseneil, Crowhurst, Hellesund, Santos & Stoilova 2008).

Norway is generally seen as a largely secular society, and the national identity portrayed in the public sphere is very much one of secularism, modernity, and progress.²⁴ Despite this, variations

²³ Riksålsordboken refers to Morgenbladet 1965/14/10/2

²⁴ While roughly 88% of the population belongs to the stately protestant Church of Norway, only 10% attend church services or other Christianity-related meetings more than once a month. Some 8% of the population are members of other religious communities, while 10% do not belong to any religious community at all. The largest religious and life-stance communities outside the Church of Norway are the Humanist Movement, represented by the Norwegian Humanist Association (78,000), Islam (79,000, mostly Shia Muslims), the Pentecostal Movement (45,000), the Roman Catholic Church (51,000 or more), the Evangelical-Lutheran free Church (20,000), Methodists (13,000) and several smaller free churches. About 11,000 Buddhists are registered in Norway (mostly of Vietnamese origin), approximately 4,000 Hindus, and 850 Jews (SSB: Medlemmer i trus- og livssynssamfunn utanfor Den

of Christian morality and Christian cultural norms are an important reference in public discourse and in many local communities. After the debate on abortion died out (after 1978), the debate around homosexuality has been one of the major moral debates within the Christian communities, as well as in parliament (Stenvoll 2002) and public discourse. In 1954, the Diocesan Council of the Church of Norway stated that “homosexuality is a threat of enormous dimensions (“world-dimensions”).” Since then the debate on homosexuality has been a hot topic in meeting after meeting in the Church and has created divisions both at local and national level. In 1977, the Diocesan Council decided to accept the inborn disposition (“legning”) homosexuality, but to condemn the “practice” of this disposition. In 1999, the first woman bishop, Rosemarie Köhn, was the first to go against both the Diocesan Council and the National Synod when she let a lesbian theologian be a priest in one of her congregations. At the National Synod in 2007, 84 members voted for allowing different views on the question of lesbians and gays in ordained positions, while 50 still voted against this. The Open Church Group for Lesbians and Gays was founded in 1976 and is an ecumenical Christian organization with national membership. The Open Church Group has been the main organization fighting for the rights and inclusion of lesbians and gays in different Christian Communities, particularly the Church of Norway.

There is a national curriculum for the 10-year compulsory school with which all schools must comply. LGBT issues are on the agenda from fourth grade and in various subjects. Despite this focus on the national curriculum, research has shown that both textbooks and teachers tend to ignore non-heterosexuality or to represent it in tragic and problem-oriented ways (Røthing 2004, Røthing 2007, Røthing & Svendsen 2008, Røthing & Svendsen 2009, Smestad).

Norway has one main law on equality, the Gender Equality Act of 1978. The law only set out to hinder discrimination based on gender, but discrimination towards other groups is also partly touched upon:

- Act on prohibition of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion etc. (the Anti-Discrimination Act)
- The Working Environment Act’s equal opportunity chapter (Chapter 13)

norske kyrkja, etter religion/livssyn. 1.1.2005-2007. Absolutte tal og prosent. SSB: Medlemmer i kristne trussamfunn utanfor Den norske kyrkja. 01.01.2005-2007).

- The anti-discrimination provisions in the Tenancy Act, Owner-Tenant Act, Housing Cooperative Act and Home Building Association Act

On their webpage, the Equality and Antidiscrimination Ombud claim that, “The Ombud contributes to the promotion of equal opportunity and fights discrimination. The Ombud combats discrimination based on gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, physical handicap, and age. The Ombud upholds the law and acts as a proactive agent for equal opportunity throughout society.”²⁵ In the Norwegian law, hate crimes are mainly defined as “utterances.” Hate actions are taken care of in other parts of the law, but the Criminal Law §135 states that it is illegal to utter a hateful or discriminatory statement concerning:

- skin color, national or ethnic origin
- religion
- homophile legning²⁶, lifeform or orientation

The punishment could be fines or prison up to three years. So far the law has only been used a handful of times. National laws are established to prevent the LGB population from being discriminated against in the workforce and housing market. Both public and private companies have to comply with the laws, but religious communities have been exempt from these laws. Despite the laws, lesbian, gays, and bisexuals still do experience discrimination in many areas of life, and a few discrimination cases are taken to court. Several towns and cities have recently developed “action programmes” to promote the living conditions of all lesbian, gay, and bisexuals in their area, and the city of Trondheim has initiated a programme addressing *Challenges and opportunities in regard to sexual harassment and teaching on homosexuality in the schools*.

The National Defense granted full rights to homosexuals in 1979. Formal acceptance did not mean an end to all discrimination, and several gay/lesbian soldiers have reported problems with being accepted into the organization. In the last couple of years, the National Defense has worked to promote “softer values” and claim to seek diversity among its recruits and employees. They

²⁵ LDO. The Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud, www.ldo.no

²⁶ The term “legning” (= inborn disposition) is frequently used in Norwegian public debates concerning homosexuality. “Legning” can also be translated to “sexual identity” if “identity” is understood in strictly essentialist terms.

particularly underline the need for more lesbian/gays and immigrants among their ranks (Hammer 2007; Forsvarsnett 2005).

“Tolerance towards the homosexuals” has become a central Norwegian value, but this tolerance is also a part of normative heterosexuality (Røthing & Svendsen 2008). It is seen as valuable to be tolerant towards homosexuals, but it is not necessarily seen as valuable to live as a homosexual (*ibid.*). Despite the dominating heteronormativity there is no general fear of the LBGT population losing civil rights. After the gender-neutral marriage law was passed in 2008, there are very few formal boundaries left between heterosexuals and homosexuals. Whether the lesbian/gay movement can continue as a civil rights-focused identity movement, or whether it has to open up for alternative frameworks, remains to be seen (Bolsø 2008). Many issues of intimate citizenship have been central to the movement, such as the banning of male homosexuality, information about same-sex sex and the dangers of HIV. The right to adopt and get IVF treatment – to be recognized as parents – has been the central focus of the movement for the last 15 years, together with the right to domestic partnership and marriage.

Partnership

In 1993, the **Act On Registered Partnership** was passed in parliament. Thus Norway became the second nation in the world (after Denmark) to grant some sort of “marriage” rights to same-sex couples. The Act on Registered Partnership gave the same right for same-sex couples as marriage, apart from: 1) the right to apply for adoption, and 2) the right to get married in a church. The Act on Registered Partnership gave the same rights and responsibilities concerning tax, social security, and unemployment benefits, pensions, and survivor benefits, carers’ allowances, inheritance rights, etc. Between 1993 and 2007, 3,404 persons had registered as partners.²⁷ The majority of these have been male couples, but more and more women registered as partners in the later years. Female couples were 2.2 times more likely to divorce than male couples (Noack 2005). Until 2005, 70 children had been born to women living in registered partnerships.

²⁷ SSB: Folkemengd, etter sivilstand, kjønn og alder. 1. januar 2007.

The Act on Registered Partnership became a reality after a lot of work from individual lesbian/gay activists in an alliance with individual politicians from the Labor Party (AP) and the Socialist Party (SV). Among the conservatives and liberals, attitudes were also changing in favor of the law. Most parties let their representatives vote individually on this case. Only the Christian People's Party (KrF) was 100% opposed to the proposal, but many individual politicians, particularly on the conservative side, were also against the law. The public debate around this issue was huge. The debate was mainly pro-gay (in favor of the law) and anti-gay (opposing the law). There was very little debate, either public or "internally" in the lesbian/gay community on whether this was something the lesbian/gay movement wanted to prioritize, and very few voices spoke up against marriage in general. An important exception was the former president of the DNF'48, Karen-Christine Friele, who was against the Act on Registered Partnership. She withdrew from the organization in 1989, after more than 20 years as a strong front figure for the lesbian and gay movement (Friele 1975, Friele 1990). Many of the lesbian/gay activists working towards this law were also active in the reorganization of the Norwegian lesbian/gay movement into the organization LLH (The Norwegian National Association of Lesbian and Gay Liberation) in 1992.

A new gender neutral **Marriage Act** was passed in parliament in June 2008 (in force from January 2009). This new law makes the Act on Registered Partnership redundant. The most important changes are: 1) same-sex couples will now be included in the symbolic marriage union, and 2) same-sex couples will get the right to apply for adoption and get assisted fertilization. The active proponents of the gender neutral marriage law are mainly the Labor Party (AP), the Socialist Party (SV), and LLH (The Norwegian National Association of Lesbian and Gay Liberation). Several of the other political parties are also mainly in favor of the new law. The visible opponents are mainly Christian conservative groups. The debate on a gender neutral marriage has somewhat surprisingly been a lot less heated than the debate on the Act on Registered Partnership in 1993.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

As mentioned under partnership, **parenting** has been the most controversial issue in regard to lesbian and gay legal partnership in Norway. One of the most articulated fears before the Act on

Registered Partnership in 1993, was that this was just a first step on the way to demanding adoption and IVF treatment. These fears proved to be right; in the debate around the gender neutral Marriage Act, the focus has also been on the problems of letting lesbians and gays having children.

Conservative Christians, the adoption organizations and also some liberal conservatives (like FrP and pioneer new women's movement activist Nina Karin Monsen) have raised the main opposing voices. While two of the governing parties, the Labour Party and the Socialist Party have been the strongest proponents of the new law, the third governing party Senterpartiet [the Centre Party, traditionally the rural and farming oriented party] has been concerned about both marriage in itself and the parenting aspects of marriage. The government took a tabloid turn when the minister of Local Government and regional Development from the Centre Party found out that she had a gay son. She had been a long time opponent of the law, but after "long and painful conversations" with her son and a joint appearance on a talk show, she changed her view. She voted for the new law and for the right to adoption, but against the right to IVF treatment for lesbians.

An analysis of the Norwegian newspaper debate (1998-2002) shows that both the anti-adoption and pro-adoption sides of the debate had: (a) the nuclear family as reference point, and (b) a focus on the innate qualities of homosexuality. Parallel to the continuous liberalization of sexualities and sexual practices, a basic axiom of heteronormativity seems to be the starting point on both sides of the debate (Anderssen & Hellesund 2009).

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

When the first organization for homosexuals was founded in 1950 (DNF-48), it immediately started work to remove the paragraph making sexual relations between men illegal. In 1953, the committee of the penal code suggested removing the paragraph, but they then wanted the age of consent set to 18 (instead of 16 as for heterosexual relations) and to prohibit "homosexual propaganda." These discussions were fuelled by a fear that homosexuality might be spread. The organization DNF'48 felt that this was worse than the existing (mostly sleeping) paragraph, and the work for decriminalization died down. In the late 1960s, it was taken up again, and in March

1972 removal of §213 was passed in the parliament (Odelstinget) by 65 votes to 13. No new paragraphs on the issue were introduced (Jordåen 2003:93-97).

The age of sexual consent is 16 years for both same-sex and different sex sexual contacts. In modern times, there have never been any laws against specific sexual practices (like oral or anal sex). Rape is defined as forced anal or vaginal intercourse. Penis in mouth and object in anus/vagina is also seen as equivalent with intercourse (and thus can be rape). There are no laws making it illegal to make sexual proposals to others, and no laws making it illegal to sell sex toys. Two paragraphs deals with pornography, one concerning adults and one concerning children under 18 years old: 1) It is illegal to publish or sell pornography or to give it to persons under 18 years old. Pornography is here defined by humanly-degrading sexual descriptions such as sexual activity which includes corpses, animals, violence, or force. Sexual descriptions defined as art, science, or information are not seen as pornography. 2) It is illegal to obtain, own, produce, or distribute sexual descriptions involving children under 18 years old. Gender/sexuality is not an issue in regard to pornography. There are no porn theaters in Norway.

The Norwegian homophile movement has generally been a movement for both men and women. While men probably have outnumbered women as members, the main organization has had several female leaders, among them the legendary Karen Christine Friele (voted as the fourth most important Norwegian of the century in 2005). One of the issues where there have been major gender divisions in the movement has been over pornography. While many gay men saw pornography as a positive expression of sexuality, many lesbians, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, saw pornography as sexualized violence.

Free speech and association has not been a big issue in the Norwegian LGBT debates and in the debates regarding sexual expression. Discussions concerning restrictions on the Internet or on information about LGBT issues have hardly been heard in the public realm. In some of the religious private schools this has been an issue, and also in some public schools individual parents have reacted negatively to information about LGBT issues. In the few discrimination cases taken to court where extremely conservative Christians have been indicted, they have tried to argue that their hate speech is protected by the freedom of speech. In the most famous of these

cases, from 1984, the Supreme Court judged that antidiscrimination took precedence over freedom of speech in that particular case.²⁸

Sexual Violence

LLH has not taken any stand in regard to pornography or prostitution, and has not been a part of the public debate on these issues. Hate crimes and violence against lesbians and gays does occur in Norway. Several gay men have been killed because of gay-related motives, and lesbian and gay adolescents seem to be facing far too much discrimination and violence in their everyday life (Moseng 2007).

There is no particular focus on domestic violence in non-heterosexual relationships in Norway. In the statistics from the Shelter Movement in Norway, 4% of the users state that their offender was a woman. There is however, no statistics to show what kind of a relationship there was between the victim and the offender. The current socialist government (2008) wants to strengthen the work against hate-crimes, and has given LLH money to map out the scope of hate crimes against homosexuals.

2.9. Bisexual Movement

There has been little focus on bisexuality in the Norwegian context, and no lasting organization exclusively for bisexuals has been established. The national LGBT organization LLH does however mention bisexuals as well as transpersons when describing who the organization works for.

2.10. Transsexual Movement

To qualify for sex-reassignment treatment in Norway you have to be accepted as a patient by the state hospital Rikshospitalet, which performs the treatment. Surgical treatment started in Norway in 1962. Since then more than 400 transsexuals have undergone hormonal and surgical treatment. Hormone treatment will not be started until the patient is 18 years old. After genital surgery has

²⁸ The case against pastor Hans Bratterud

been performed, transsexuals have the right to a new birth certificate and social security number. Couples do not have to divorce if one partner undergoes sex-reassignment treatment. Transsexuals in different-sex relationships have the right to apply for adoption, and they also have the right to artificial insemination.

The main organization for transsexuals in Norway was founded in 2000 and then called LFTS – The National Organization for Transsexuals. It has mainly worked as lobbyists towards politicians and medical expertise. At their annual meeting in 2005, they decided to change the name to The National Organization for Transgendered People. This was explained by a wish to move away from a highly stigmatized and sexualized image and to underline that being transgendered is about gender-identity, not about sexuality. In 2008 they dropped the subtitle in the name of the organization, to avoid to be associated with a wider international trans-movement. In 2009 they changed their name to Harry Benjamin Resource Centre (HBRS).

HBRS does not want to be included in a “LGBT community,” and stresses that “their cause” concerns gender alone, being something entirely different from sexuality.²⁹ The lesbian/gay organization has included all kind of transpersons in their agenda. The Christian Peoples party, KrF, has been among the strongest opponents to lesbian and gay rights in Norway. However, in their political manifesto for the period 2005-2009 they strongly support the right of transsexuals (as the only political party) (Folgerø & Hellesund 2009).

2.11. Intersex Movement

There are patient organizations for the different groups of intersex-conditions, but there is no intersex movement as such in Norway.³⁰ The medical field of intersex-conditions in Norway is divided between genital anomalies (atypical reproductive anatomies) and disorders of sex development (Turner’s syndrome and Klinefelter syndrome). About 11 children are born each year with atypical reproductive anatomies, about 12 girls with Turner’s syndrome, and an unknown number of boys with Klinefelter syndrome (underdiagnosed). Issues regarding intimate

²⁹ “Transgenders want out of homoplan”. In *Blikk*, October 8, 2007.

<http://www.blikk.no/nyheter/sak.html?kat=1&id=9259>

³⁰ The Turner Syndrome Association, <http://www.turnersyndrom.no/hoved.htm>; The Klinefelter Association, <http://klinefelter.no/>; The Association for genital Anomalies <http://www.cah.no/AGSCAH.html>

citizenship have only to a marginal extent been raised by the transsexual movement and the other sexual identity movements (apart from the lesbian/gay movement).

Appendices Norway

Appendix 1: Intimate Citizenship, the Women's Movement and Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change in Norway - Timeline

1853

Jews were allowed entrance to the country (The poet and activist Henrik Wergeland has been given the main credit for this).

1884

The first Norwegian feminist organization was founded in Oslo and called Norsk kvinnesaksforening.

1886-1907

“The homosexual man arrives Norway” (Jordåen 2003) The homosexual man is starting to be distinguished as someone “other”. Law and medicine were the main agents in this process. One well known homosexual professor of Law (Ebbe Hertzberg) tried to push the views of Ulrichs and Hirschfeld into the debates going on in closed academic (mostly medical) circles.

1888

Married women receives full legal capacity

1895

Introduction of the Norwegian Accident Insurance for Factory Workers

1897

Members of monastic orders allowed to enter the country

1898

Universal suffrage for men

1905

Norway becomes an independent nation and the royal family was reintroduced after 100 years under Swedish government and 400 years under the Danish government. The Norwegian constitution was, however, sanctioned May 17, 1814 (based on the French and US constitution). A massive nation building process took place on many cultural and political levels.

1907-1932

Parallell discourses on homosexuals and sodomites (Jordåen 2003). The old ambiguous figure “the sodomite” existed paralelly with the scientific figure “the homosexual”. Law, medicine, the police were the main actors.

1909

It becomes legal to file for divorce

1913

Universal suffrage for women and men. The bourgeois women’s movements and their supporters were the main actors.

1915

The Norwegian Housewife Association founded (Hjemmenes vel, senere Norsk Husmorforbund, senere Norges Kvinne- og familieforbund)

New law making children born in and out of wedlock equal in regard to inheritance/fathers name. The law also ordered fathers to pay alimony to their children born out of wedlock (De Castbergske barnelover). This law was met by strong opposition from parts of the bourgeois womens movement.

1927

New law on married couples and their economy states that the spouses are responsible for supporting each other economically, that housework should be seen as an equal contribution to paid work and that each spouse keeps the right of disposition over the values s/he brought into the marriage.

1928

It becomes legal to inform about contraception

1932-1950

The homosexual breakthrough in Norway (Jordåen 2003). The issue of sexuality was taken outside closed circles, and was becoming a part of the public in a new way. The actors were mainly: law, medicine, sexual (socialist) liberationists, the “homophile” movement, media, literature.

1934

A new law on sterilisation sanctioned. It gave the state the right to sterilize selected inhabitants for social and eugenic reasons. Social reasons were directed towards people who by their own work were not able to support themselves and their offspring. The eugenic reasons were directed towards people with “a deviant condition of the soul or major physical flaws which might be reproduced in offspring” [En sykkelig sjelstilstand eller en betydelig legemlig mangel ville bli overført på avkom].

1936

Introduction of sickness benefits, old-age benefits

1937

The Labour party (AP) and the United Unions (LO) passed bills stating that the right to work should be equal between men and women, and independent of their marital status

1938

Introduction of the Unemployment Insurance Act

1946

Family allowance is introduced

1947

Extended Act on Unemployment Insurance (also including workers in e.g. agriculture, mining, fishery and forestry; housemaids were still not included) (Hagemann 2006).

1950

A Norwegian branch of the Scandinavian organisation for homosexuals was founded. Name: Det Norske forbundet av 1948/DNF48.

1951

The concept “homofil” was introduced in Norway. DNF’48 published the first Norwegian pamphlet about homosexuality. Here they also introduced the concept homofil, a concept based in the American liberation movements of the 1940s and 1950s. Norway is probably the only country still using it as the central concept for same-sex sexuality (Jordåen 2003:91). According to the dictionary Riksmålsordboken it was first used in a Norwegian newspaper in 1965 (Mgbl. 1965/14/10/2)

1954

The national meeting of bishops (in the (state) Church of Norway) warned against homosexuality: “we are here facing a societal threat of enormous dimensions. It is well known that homosexuality has reached terrible proportions in many countries” (Jordåen 2003:92)

1956

Jesuits were allowed to enter Norway. This law-change came about when Norway wanted to ratify The European Convention of Human Rights. The prohibition was an old sleeping paragraph from the 1900s.

1957

A special interest organisation for singles was founded: Ensliges Landsforbund. Their main task was to improve the problematic housing-conditions for singles during the post-war housing shortage.

1960

Introduction of disability benefits

1964

Introduction of benefits for widows and single mothers

1967

Earlier introduced social benefits were amalgamated into the **National Insurance Scheme** [Folketrygden]. All Norwegian citizens and individuals working in Norway are automatically qualified for membership of the Norwegian National Insurance Scheme, a government insurance scheme entitling members to pensions (e.g. old age, survivors, disability) as well as benefits in connection with industrial accidents, accidents and illness, pregnancy, birth, single parent families and funerals. Together with the insurance schemes for family allowance and the cash benefit to parents of young children (kontantstøtte), the National Insurance Scheme comprises the most important general insurance scheme in Norway. Payments from the scheme are determined by the income you have earned. Those without an income get the minimum rate.

The contraceptive pill is introduced in Norway.

1970

32 % of women are in paid labour (3% less than in 1900).

Nyfeministene (the new feminists) starts their first groups

1971

“The women’s coup”. An organised and successful action, cumulating women into positions in local politics

1972

The Womens Action against EEC is established (Kvinneaksjonen mot EF)

It is no longer illegal to live together without being married (the “concubinage paragraph” is removed)

Kvinnefronten (the women’s front) is established

AKP m-l [The Workers Communist Party the Marxist-Leninists) was founded

Likestillingsrådet opprettes

Male homosexuality is decriminalized

1973

The government demands equal gender representation in ministries and organizations

The International Women’s Day, March 8, is reintroduced (also celebrated in the 1920-1930s) has its breakthrough in Norway

The feminist journal *Sirene* is established, and becomes an immediate success.

1974

Many socialist women broke out of the *AKP m-l* dominated *Kvinnefronten*

“Get rid of feminism” campaign in *Kvinnefronten* (Haukaa 1982:116)

5 % of all children are born out of wedlock

«The Peoples Action Against Free Abortion» collects 610 000 signatures

Girls and boys become equal in regard to allodium

1975

The official UN's year for women

The feminist movie «Hustruer» by director Anja Breien is finished

The relay race "Holmenkollstafetten" is opened up to women

Lesbisk Bevegelse [The Lesbian Movement] is established in Oslo

The organisation *Brød og Roser* [Bread and roses] is established

The journal *Kjerringråd* is established

44 % of married women are now in paid labour

Punishment for illegal abortions is removed

The central committee of AKP (m-l) announced that "The Workers Communist Party AKP (m-l) sees homosexuality (homofili) as sexual deviance rooted in societal and social conditions". They supported the methods used to "remove" homosexuality in socialist states, and expected it to be gone in Norway as well after the revolution (Øgrim & Sjølie 2006).

The so-called "Immigration-stop" is introduced

1976

Women are allowed to participate in the ski race Birkebeinerrennet

Women's soccer becomes a part of the National Soccer organization

1977

Introduction of paid maternity leave for 18 weeks

Every person over 25 years get the right to be sterilized

Norwegian Psychiatric Association removes homosexuality as a diagnosis

1978

It is opened for abortion by own choice (until week 12). The pregnant woman solely makes the decision (put into force 1979).

Gender Equality Act passed in the parliament

The first shelter for women victims of domestic violence is opened

A sick child became a legal reason to be away from work

The Department of Church and Education grants full legal protection of homosexual teachers.

1979

A Law on Gender Equality is put into effect and an Equality Ombud is appointed

Gender discrimination in advertisement is prohibited

Member of parliament, Wenche Lowzow from the conservative party, declares that she is a homosexual

Homosexuals are granted equal rights in the military.

1980

The party conference of AKP ml overturns their controversial “homo”-statement from 1975

1981

A particular law protection prohibiting discrimination of homosexuals is introduced (§§135a* & 349a). These paragraphs were first tried in court the summer 1984. Pastor Hans Bratterud was found not guilty in Oslo City Court, but this was overruled by the Supreme Court in December 1984

1982

Ministry of Social affairs removes homosexuality from their list of diagnosis.

1992

29. November: The current lesbian/gay organisation LLH was founded by a fusion of DNF-48 and FHO.

The feminist organization Ottar was founded

1993

The Act on Registered Partnership is passed in the Parliament. The law gives the same rights and duties to same-sex couples as marriage, apart from the right to apply for adoption (§4) and the right to get married in a church.

1998

Lesbians and gays are included in a separate anti-discrimination paragraph (§55a) in the Law of Work Environment. It is however still allowed to discriminate (not employing homosexuals) in communities of faith.

2000

LFTS, National organisation for transsexuals founded

2002

The law of adoption opens up for step-child adoptions for lesbians and gays living in registered partnership.

2004

The journal *Kvinnejournalen* (run by Kvinnefronten) changes name to *Fett* and gets a revival as a third wave feminist magazine.

2005

LFTS, the national organisation for transsexuals changed name to: National organisation for “transgenders”

2007

55% of children born out of wedlock (44 % to cohabitating parents and 11% to single mothers)
(SSB)

2008

The LFTS deletes transgender from its title and is now only called LFTS without any subtitle

2009

LFTS changes name to Harry Benjamin Ressurssenter (HBRS)

Purchase of sex (widely defined), in Norway and abroad, is illegal.

A new gender neutral Marriage Act is in force

Appendix 2: Major Organisations and Publications in Norway in the 1970s

Major feminist organisations

- **Nyfeministene [The New Feminists] (1970-)** The first strong sign of the new women's movement in Norway. The organisation kept a flat organizational structure, and focussed on consciousness-raising.
- **Kvinnefronten [The women's front] (1972- to present)** A hierarchical and very structured organization. The only one of the generic organizations from the 1970s that has survived
- **Sosialistisk kvinneforum [Socialist Women's forum] (1974-)**
- **8 gruppa** Independent socialist group
- **April-gruppa** Bergen based socialist group
- **Claragruppa [The Clara [Zetkin] group] (1974-)** Bergen based socialist group.

The initiators of this group broke out of *Kvinnefronten*

- **Brød og roser [Bread and Roses] (1976/78-)** The initiators of this group broke out of *Kvinnefronten*
- **Ottar** [name referring to sex-educator Elise Ottesen Jensen] **(1991-to the present)** The initiators of *Ottar* broke out of *Kvinnefronten*
- **Lesbisk bevegelse [Lesbian movement] (1975-)** In perspectives and organisational structure similar to *Nyfeministene*, but focusing on the lives of lesbian women. Most of the initiators to this group came from *Nyfeministene*. Some broke out, and some kept a double membership.

Other important organizations

- **Norsk kvinnesaksforening (1884- ongoing)** The major organization of the first wave feminism. It was active also in the 1970s, and cooperated with the new women's movement. Had approximately 600-1000 members in the 1970s (Lønnå 1996:248).
- **Norsk Kvinneforbund** (1948 – ?) A coalition between the socialist housewife associations (Arbeidernes Husmorlagsforbund) and the Norwegian section of the Women's International Democratic Federation [Norsk Seksjon av Kvinnernes demokratiske verdensforbund (KDV)]. Peace and women's liberation were the two main agendas of the organization. It was revived in 1973 after an 8 year break, and got 1200 members in the 1970s (Lønnå 1996:227).
- **Norske kvinners nasjonalråd (1904-1989)** Established as a uniting organ for different womens (partly feminist) [kvinnesaks] organizations, and member of the International Council of Women (ICW). More conservative than *Norsk kvinnesaksforening*, and differed from *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening* in the 1970s on important issues like abortion.

Feminist journals/magazines from the 1970s

Strømpa (1971- ?) – first external magazine for the new women's movement

Feministen (1971- 1975) – internal newspaper for *Nyfeministene*.

Vi er mange: medlemsavis for Kvinnefronten (1973-?) – internal magazine for *Kvinnefronten*

Sirene (1973- 1983) – independent feminist magazine. Was one of the largest and came out in 25 000 copies at its high in 1974/75. Aimed to be an alternative to the glossy women's press. Was not formally associated with any organization, but was probably closer to *Nyfeministene* than to *Kvinnefronten* (Kleiva 1978)

Kjerringråd (1975- 1986) – independent feminist journal. More intellectual than *Sirene*. Many of the future women's researchers published here (Stenøien 2003:142)

Lavendelexpressen (1976-?) – the journal of *Lesbisk bevegelse*

Kvinnefront (1976-1981) – **Kvinnejournalen** (1982-2004) – **Fett** (2004-) – magazine of the organization *Kvinnefronten*, until 2004, when it became independent.

Fyrstikka (1976-1980) – internal magazine for the Trondheim branch of the organization *Brød og roser*

Other important publications

Kvinnesaksnytt (1950 – to the present) – magazine from *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*

Kvinns (1977-1983) – Internal magazine for *Norsk Kvinnesaksforening*

Solsikken (1978?) – Internal magazine for *Oslo Kvinnesaksforening*

Fritt fram (1975-1990) – internal magazine for *DNF'48*

Gateavisa (1976-1986) (1988-) – anarkist newspaper

Røde fane (AKP m-l) (1972-1990) – newspaper for *AKP m-l* [“The Workers Communist party, the Marxist Leninists”. The Maoist party in Norway]. Continues as *Røde fane* (Arbeidernes kommunistparti) 1990-2004, and as *Rødt! Marxistisk tidsskrift* 2005

Portugal

Ana Cristina Santos

Part I – The Women’s Movement in Portugal

3.1. Introduction

Women’s Studies is a recent field in Portugal, so there are very few books, theses or papers about the Portuguese women’s movement. The material available tends to focus on a specific period, namely the dictatorship (before 1974) and, to a lesser extent, the 1970s and the 1980s (Magalhães, 1995; Tavares, 2000). As a result, the approach is often that of historical description rather than sociological analysis. With one recent, yet unpublished, exception (Tavares, 2009), studies of contemporary women’s organisations in Portugal are non-existent, which proves the relevance and timeliness of the current report. Moreover, intimate citizenship has not been a central feature of women’s demands or struggles, with the exceptions of domestic violence and abortion. In FEMCIT’s terms, these two issues are both matters of intimate citizenship (WP6) and sexual and bodily citizenship (WP5).

This report makes use of the few available secondary sources, as well as media reports. It partly draws upon feminist sources on the World Wide Web (WWW), including collective websites and individual blogs. In addition, informal conversations and emails with feminist activists with whom I enjoy longstanding friendships were also important for clarifying existing ideas and for adding new insights to this topic. There are two reasons for my decision to widen the scope of sources, one pragmatic and the other theoretical. Pragmatically, considering existing limitations, online and/or informal resources prove to be useful in complementing the published literature. Theoretically, I have been influenced by Canotilho *et al* (2006) when they state:

We consider that the feminist political agent is not restricted to NGOs activities, since the struggles and political participation of women spreads to several social fields, organised and not, in which these organisations are just a part of the whole process (Canotilho *et al*, 2006; my translation).

We could always, quite easily, counter-argue that, if it were not for women’s organisations, public discourse on feminism in Portugal would be non-existent. So, although I concur with the

idea that feminism is not restricted to women's organisations, I want to argue that women's organisations do play a major role in disseminating feminism in many ways and through many outlets (media, academia, popular culture, etc), and that this role is crucial for the visibility and deployment of feminism and the feminist practices of individuals.

3.2. A Brief History of the Women's Movement in Portugal

One of the first books to be printed in Portugal was *O Espelho de Cristina* [Cristina's Mirror], in which the Italian writer Christine de Pizan challenged male dominance and advocated for women's rights. Queen D. Leonor decided to print this book in 1518. In 1557, the first Portuguese feminist book, written by Ruy Goncalves – *Dos Priuilegios e Praerogativas que o Genero Feminino Te por Direito Comu e Ordenacoes do Reyno Mais que ho Genero Masculino*— was published. These two 16th century publications signal an early interest in women's rights, which culminated, in the early 20th century, with the creation of several women's organisations and initiatives, particularly linked to the end of monarchy and the subsequent implementation of the Republican political regime.

In 1909, the Republican League of Portuguese Women was created, the first organisation dealing with political citizenship and feminism. According to Guimarães (1991), this organisation was created by a medical doctor, Adelaide Cabete, and a writer, Ana de Castro Osorio, who secretly embroidered the first Republican flag while the monarchy was still in place. These women were active political actors, participating in the creation of the new political regime and thus forcing their way into the predominantly masculine public sphere. The demands of women at the time included the compulsory investigation of illegitimate paternity; the right to access divorce and education; property rights, regardless of a husband's authorisation; and the right to vote and be elected.³¹ This period was a good time for feminism, during which feminist ideals were becoming known and debated (CITE, 2003). These ideals were enshrined in laws implemented by the new Republican regime, such as the Constitution of 1911 that determined that the law applied equally to everyone (article 3). Many of the feminist demands of the time were met, namely formal legal equality between women and men, divorce laws (1890), family laws (1910) and labour laws

³¹ According to <http://congressofeminista2008.org> (accessed 10/11/2008).

allowing women access to previously forbidden jobs (such as law, allowed in 1918). Mainstream newspapers at the time gave voice to the centrality of women's role. For instance, soon after the creation of the Feminist Section of the Portuguese League for Peace, in 1906, the newspaper *O Mundo* included a regular supplement called "The women's newspaper", as well as a "Feminist Column" (Esteves, 2001). Therefore, during the early years of the republican regime women became important agentic political and social actors whose voices were heard (Esteves, 2008).

It was also during the early years of the republican regime that the poet Judith Teixeira (1880-1959) published several books in which women's bodies and sexuality were praised.³² This produced a conservative reaction against what was perceived as moral decay. Judith Teixeira was soon excluded from the cultural mainstream milieu, after being exposed to public abuse and ridicule, and labelled 'indecent' and 'lesbian'. This example illustrates how, despite the centrality of women as political actors during early 20th century, women's sexuality and, more specifically, women's same-sex desire, remained highly repressed.

In 1914, Adelaide Cabete created the National Council of Portuguese Women. This organisation was the Portuguese delegation of the International Council of Women, and many of its members were active in the Republican movement that had abolished monarchy in 1910. Despite existing connections to the workers' movement, as well as to anarchists and trade unionists, most of them belonged in fact to an educated and middle-class elite – the urban bourgeoisie (CITE, 2003). The aims of the National Council of Portuguese Women included women's emancipation, the changing of traditional roles, and the promotion of equal responsibilities between women and men. In 1919, Alzira Vieira, an activist of the National Council of Portuguese Women, said: "No one can be humanist if they are not connected to the idea of feminism" (CITE, 2003: 81).

Despite legal achievements in the sphere of gender equality, the right to vote remained one of the unfulfilled promises of the new Republican regime. In 1911, a law was approved determining that in order to vote people must be over 21 years old, be able to read and write, and be head of a family. Doctor Carolina Beatriz Ângelo – who was a widow and hence considered herself

³² Teixeira's books included *Decadência* (1923), *Castelo de Sombras* (1923) and *Nua* (1926). There were other authors addressing same-sex desire during this time, namely António Botto and Raul Leal. Despite some negative reactions and reviews, these authors managed to remain central figures in Portuguese literature, unlike Judith Teixeira who is still unknown to the majority of people despite recent efforts to recuperate her important contribution to both poetry and freedom of expression. See, for example, http://www.ilga-portugal.pt/pdfs/onde_andaram_as_lesbicas.pdf (accessed 01/12/2008).

included by the established criteria – decided to make use of this law. She was refused the right to vote but, after taking her case to court, the judge recognised her claim. An important detail here is that the judge was the father of Ana de Castro Osório, who would soon (in 1917) fund the Crusade of Portuguese Women, a patriotic organisation designed to support Portuguese soldiers fighting in WWI, and their families. Although this was not a feminist organisation, it was important for linking women to an important issue of the time, the need to provide care and support during the war. It was Ana de Castro Osório and her friend Adelaide Cabete who escorted Carolina Beatriz Ângelo to vote on 18 May 1911, the first time a woman had voted in Portugal. Soon after, in 1913, the law was changed. Now only male citizens over 21 years old who could read, write, and lived in Portuguese territory, could vote. The lack of the vote for women was a key topic for the National Council of Portuguese Women who, in 1924, stated:

Why don't our prestigious female doctors, teachers, landowners, heads of family who pay their contributions have their rights as citizens, the right to vote, when their male ignorant servants and employers have got it, unaware of what they are doing, willing to give their vote away for a glass of wine?... What are we still waiting for? Are our Republicans reactionary? (CITE, 2003: 83; my translation).

In May 1924, the first Feminist Congress of Education took place in Lisbon, after an initiative by the National Council of Portuguese Women, as a member of the International Council of Women. This congress received the support of important figures of feminism, both at the local and international levels, gathering intellectuals, politicians and lecturers. The National Council organised the second Feminist Congress in 1928. But the political context had changed. The military dictatorship had taken over in 1926 and feminist leaders struggled against the regime. As a result, this second congress did not receive as much political support. Instead, most of its 50 participants were women from academia, and the keynote speaker was the feminist Spanish lecturer Elisa Soriano Fischer. In the opening speech, the Portuguese feminist Elina Guimarães identified the aims of Portuguese feminists as the right to participate in public life on an equal footing to men, including work, education and political rights.³³ Intimate citizenship issues did not figure here.

In 1945, Maria Lamas, another important pioneer of feminism in Portugal, was elected president of the National Council of Portuguese Women. In this position, Lamas travelled all over the

³³ The opening speech is available at <http://congressofeminista2008.org> (accessed 10/11/2008).

country to promote education, as well as to observe and examine the living conditions of women in rural areas. From this experience, she produced the book, *As Mulheres do Meu País* [*Women of My Country*], which was a landmark exposition of women's issues in Portugal.

Despite violating individual rights and restricting many aspects of women's autonomy, it was under the dictatorship, in 1931, that women were included for the first time as voting citizens – as long as they were heads of family, married with husbands who were absent (in the colonies) or had a secondary or higher education degree (CITE, 2003: 83; Souza, 2006). This still excluded the majority of women who were uneducated, single and/or who lived with their husbands. Then, in 1946, a draft law was tabled to remove the right to vote from all married women. The National Council of Portuguese Women presented a written complaint in which they highlighted the awkwardness of a law that would punish the decision to have a legitimate family. As a result, the draft law was never discussed and the right to vote was expanded to include all women who paid certain taxes (Guimarães, 1991).

Most feminist organisations collapsed during the fascist regime. The National Council of Portuguese Women was the last to be disbanded. It was shut down by the political regime after it successfully organised an exhibition of books written by women from all over the world in 1947. The repression of women's activities increased in severity. In 1949, the former president of the National Council of Portuguese Women, Maria Lamas, was arrested several times, accused of working against the political regime, which was concerned by her international visibility and her repeated excursions to rural Portugal – in order to report back the conditions under which women lived. She eventually left Portugal and was based in Paris for several years, returning home in 1969.³⁴

Hence, the period of the dictatorship can be considered to be one of 'interrupted feminism'. Women were, however, often mentioned and "praised" by dictator Salazar, particularly for their qualities as moral guardians (Pimentel, 2001; 2007). The regime also created women's organisations aimed at moulding the kind of women the regime expected: the Mothers' Work for National Education (created by Minister Carneiro Pacheco on 15/08/1936) and Feminine Portuguese Youth (1937). The aim of the former was to stimulate the educational role of the

³⁴ More information about Maria Lamas' life available at <http://www.noticiasdaamadora.com.pt/nad/artigo.php?aid=719> (accessed 20/01/2009).

family. There were also publications linked to these organizations, such as the journal *Menina e Moça*, which focused on marriage and on the need for women to adhere to strict moral standards.

In 1961, “Letter to a Portuguese Young Woman” was published in *Via Latina*, the students’ newspaper of the University of Coimbra. Authored by Artur Marinha de Campos, this letter challenged the sexual morality imposed by the dictatorship regime.

In 1972, three women – Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa – published the book *New Portuguese Letters*, which was considered immoral and pornographic by the dominant political authorities. It was the first time that women had written about their own sexual embodiment and pleasure, and thus the book conveyed the message that women were agentic subjects of sexuality. The book was forbidden by the political regime in 1973 and the authors could not leave the country and their names could not be mentioned in the press.³⁵ This publication was an important catalyst for feminist action:

Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Velho da Costa and Maria Teresa Horta had the support of the international feminist community and their trial started to gather Portuguese supporters, especially women. This movement of solidarity towards the “Three Marias” reached its peak when, at the end of the trial, the Women’s Liberation Movement [MLM – Movimento de Libertação das Mulheres] was created (Oliveira *et al*, 2008).

Immediately after the revolution, in 1974, women’s struggles centred mostly around housing, nurseries, literacy and living conditions, including roads, electricity and water. These were wider demands of the general population, rather than specifically feminist claims. However, there were also women-targeted initiatives, such as the creation of literacy courses for women and commissions of unemployed women in Alentejo (Southern Portugal).³⁶ There was also a petition, in 1977, against the extinction of the magazine *Mulher, Modas e Bordados*. According to Guimarães (1991), this magazine was an important vehicle for the education of women, particularly through the seminars and meetings it organised. It had been edited by the feminist pioneer Maria Lamas since 1930.

³⁵ These sanctions stopped only after the revolution. More information about this event in Tavares, 2010.

³⁶ As described in <http://www.cdofeminista.org> (accessed 11/12/2008).

On the issue of formal equality, important legal changes took place during the 1970s.³⁷ However, according to Ferreira (1998a; 1998b), there was little connection between the demands of women's organisations and the legal changes introduced in the mid 1970s, because most of these changes were introduced top-down and resulted from the revolutionary movement:

Hence, the first paradox characterising women's lives in Portugal. Despite their weak political mobilisation, Portuguese women lived in a country where the juridical-constitutional frame was based on the premise of equality between women and men. This frame was considered one of the most advanced after [...] abolishing a juridical order which assumed and promoted their subordination to the masculine ruling, imposing the duty of domestic work, for instance. Between 1974 and 1979, when the Portuguese democracy was launched and consolidated, women saw their social situation change in many respects, such as i) access to all jobs; ii) right to vote; iii) extinction of the husband's right to read their correspondence and deny authorisation to travel abroad; iv) 90 days of maternity leave; v) constitutional recognition of equality between men and women in all areas; vi) a Civil Code in which the figure of 'head of family' disappears. All of this [happened] without any systematic action demanding those achievements. All happened as if it was part and parcel of the normal and desirable national path towards the modernisation that was required to get us into the gallery of the most advanced and democratic countries. The political elites determined so; the country accepted it without demanding it and without resisting it as well (Ferreira, 1998b: 2).

One activist quoted in Magalhães (1995) said that a lack of coincidence between progressive laws and biased practices resulted from "the fact that the law was ahead of us before we were emancipated" (1995: 94). However, it should also be mentioned that these revolutionary collective initiatives were often enlarged by women who became visible and active in organisations and social movements, regardless of their demands being read as feminist or not. Therefore, rather than dismissing women's agency in demanding and obtaining change in the sphere of women's rights, I want to suggest that women were an important part of the political process which resulted in a new democratic order in Portugal after 1974 that included women's demands amongst its early legal changes. This argument is supported by the feminist initiatives that took place immediately after the revolution.

³⁷ For details about legal changes in the field of intimate citizenship in Portugal please refer to Strand 2 Report, available at http://www.femcit.org/files/WP6_WorkingpaperNo1.pdf.

The first feminist demonstration in Portuguese democracy happened on the 13th January 1975.³⁸ It was organised by the recently created Women's Liberation Movement (MLM) and it consisted of a dramatisation of stereotypes around womanhood – women dressed as housewives, brides, *femmes fatales*, domestic workers, etc – to criticise the fact that, almost a year after the revolution, women were still discriminated against in the law. Demonstrators planned to light a fire and burn the “symbols of women's inequality” – the Civil Code, the Penal Code and the Labour Code, books showing biased and discriminatory images of women, and toys reinforcing those stereotypes. The MLM prepared banners saying “Democracy yes, Phallocracy no”. Maybe because the newspaper *Expresso* announced a group of feminists would be doing a striptease demonstration, the event obtained much media attention and many men rushed to the Eduardo VII Park in order to verbally and physically abuse the demonstrators. Men were screaming at the participants: “Women should be at home, cooking” or “Women – only in bed” (Barbosa, 1981; 2006). The fact that the only demonstrator who was not attacked was a woman wearing a wedding dress illustrates the symbolic importance ascribed to religious marriage.³⁹ It is also curious that this event is still remembered by many as the day feminists had set bras on fire. But thinking back to that day, one of the founders of MLM, Maria Teresa Horta – who was also one of the “Three Marias” who published the book *New Portuguese Letters* – reaffirmed there were never any burnt bras, “because none of us were wearing bras in those days!”.⁴⁰

In 1977, women's claims focused on an issue of intimate citizenship – abortion rights. Feminist organisations helped to gather 5000 signatures on a petition handed to the Portuguese Parliament in March 1977, demanding the decriminalization of abortion. According to Tavares (2008), from 1977 to 1984 Portuguese feminism could be described as being guided by the principle “the personal is political”, focusing particularly on abortion and contraception. The main activities during this period included the production of publications (namely leaflets on abortion rights), and demonstrations against the trafficking of women (1978) and pro-choice (women wearing t-

³⁸ I am drawing heavily on the description of the event published by *Diário de Notícias*, 28/01/2006, in an article called “O dia em que as mulheres portuguesas saíram à rua” (“The day Portuguese women went outside”). Available online at http://dn.sapo.pt/2006/01/28/sociedade/o_em_as_mulheres_portuguesas_sairam_.html (accessed 26/02/2008). There is also a research done by Ivone Olim and Trindade, which analyses the press coverage of this event (quoted by Barbosa, 2006).

³⁹ This fact is also reported by Maria Teresa Horta, in an interview published in 26 April 2007, in <http://cadernosdejornalismo.uc.pt/00/14-18.pdf> (accessed 26/02/2008).

⁴⁰ Interview to Maria Teresa Horta, 26 April 2007, published in <http://cadernosdejornalismo.uc.pt/00/14-18.pdf> (accessed 26/02/2008.)

shirts inside the Parliament reading, “We had an abortion”).⁴¹ Sexual harassment was denounced, in particular in a case concerning female cleaners in the factory Lisnave, in Lisbon. There were seminars and parties, and petitions and manifestos, including a petition against the beauty contest “Miss Madeira”, and a petition demanding the right to contraception and abortion, submitted to parliament in 1981.

Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986. After 1987, with the creation of the National Coordination of Women (*Coordenadora Nacional de Mulheres*), there was a growing institutionalization of women’s organizations.⁴² After 1987, the feminist organisation UMAR also became more actively involved in the activities of the Consultants Council of the State Commission for the Feminine Condition (CCF), to whom it belonged since 1977. The keyword for this period seems to be “institutionalization”, although the issues put forward by women’s organisations addressed a variety of themes including women and politics⁴³, EU law and equality between women and men, employment⁴⁴, sexual harassment, women and poverty, violence against women, contraception and abortion⁴⁵. Therefore, in FEMCIT terms, most concerns tackled issues of political (WP1), economic (WP3), intimate (WP6) and sexual citizenship (WP5).

Between 1991 and 1996, the feminist focus shifted to the political, professional and social empowerment of women. The activities of women’s organisations included professional training for unemployed women, the creation of offices to support women and employment (GINFORME) in Porto, Ovar, Lisbon, Évora, Madeira and Azores, surveys of unemployed women, local development interventions with women living in social housing and media

⁴¹ Some of these leaflets were “Aborto, as mulheres acusam” [Abortion, women point their finger] and “Contracepção para não abortar, legalização do aborto para não morrer” [Contraception to avoid abortion, legal abortion to avoid death].

⁴² The National Coordination of Women originally included MDM, UMAR and IDM/CEM, amongst others. In 1990, this Coordination was replaced by the European Lobby of Women.

⁴³ Initiatives in the field of politics included the Electoral Manifesto “O voto das mulheres deve dar lugar à voz das mulheres” [women’s vote should be followed by women’s voice] (April 1987); the creation of the National Coordinator of Women [Coordenadora Nacional de Mulheres]; participating in the discussion with politicians regarding drafting the new law on Womens’ Organisations; and public supporting the female candidate Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo running for presidential elections (http://www.umarfeminismos.org/i/galeria/historia/lurdespintasilgo_1.jpg).

⁴⁴ Initiatives in the field of employment included denouncing the toilet control of female workers at Confélis and a questionnaire of 2000 women in Lisbon about work and childcare.

⁴⁵ Initiatives in the field of contraception and abortion included denouncing Catholic Bishops who were against contraception and a press release against a project-law by CDS according to which abortion would become a crime in the constitution.

campaigns targeting the participation of women in electoral politics.⁴⁶ Parallel to these activities, the struggle for abortion rights continued. In 1994, a seminar took place, titled "Ten years after, the situation of abortion in Portugal", in which several women's organisations participated. This was important in highlighting the flaws of the abortion law approved in 1984 (which set out exceptions to criminalisation). In 1995, there was also a series of debates organized by UMAR about the Beijing Conference on Women's Rights (September 1995).

In 1997, the Portuguese Parliament approved a law that expanded the rights of women's organisations, including the right to be formally consulted at the national, regional and local levels, the right to have TV and radio primetime slots on equal footing with professional organisations, and the right to demand financial support from national, regional and local authorities in order to develop their activities. (Law N. 10/97, AR, published in the DR Series A, n. 109, 12/05/97).⁴⁷

After 1997, there were two major issues for feminism: abortion and domestic violence.⁴⁸ Another significant area of feminist intervention in the late 1990s/early 2000s was the World March of Women, both internationally (New York, 2000; Vigo, 2004; Marselha, 2005) and nationally (demonstration in Lisbon, 2000, "If women stop, the world stops"; publication of thematic leaflets; organisation of seminars and debates; the "manta"). Other areas of intervention included women and unemployment (project VIRAR, Almada, 1997/99), women and poverty (project IÂ-IÔ, Almada, 2000/03), women and education (publication of the two volumes of *Equal Opportunities Between Boys and Girls in the Context of Learning*, 1999 and 2000) and women and justice (publication of the leaflet "Access to Justice and the Right to Complaint", 1999). During the period post-1997 there was also a seminar about the feminist movement, organised by UMAR in 2003, in Porto, aiming to "reflect upon this feminist agenda of old and new struggles" (Tavares, 2008) of the feminist movement. The seminar, which was also supported by women's academy organisation APEM, was divided into three key areas/sessions: violence against women; women and globalisation; and abortion.

⁴⁶ UMAR, for example, invested in a campaign called "More women in political decision-making", funded by the European Commission. This media campaign included posters, leaflets, cards and a TV ad. More information at http://www.umarfeminismos.org/i/galeria/historia/maismulhdecpolit_2.jpg (accessed 10/11/2008).

⁴⁷ The specificities of this law were established in 1998 through Decree N. 246/98 of the Presidency of Ministers (published in DR Series A, n. 184, 11/08/1998).

⁴⁸ Due to the centrality of these two topics in the women's movement in Portugal, I will address them in detail later on in this report.

In 2004, together with universities and organisations interested in women's studies⁴⁹, UMAR organised a Tribute Seminar to the first Feminist Congress of Education, which took place in 1924. As a result of this congress a book edited by Amâncio *et al* (2007) was published which included contributions from invited speakers at the seminar. This improved the visibility of feminist issues in academia. After this event, the three most important initiatives in terms of feminist collective action were the pro-choice Making Waves campaign (2004), the abortion referendum (2007) and the Feminist Congress (2008). I will return to these later on in this report.

3.3. Extended Pen Portraits of Women's Organisations in Portugal

Rather than being centred around one main organisation or network, women's issues in Portugal are addressed by a number of different actors, at several levels. Such diversity impacts upon the way feminism is perceived and enacted in Portugal, as Canotilho *et al* acknowledge:

We believe that the current potential of feminism is dispersed in universities, women's organisations, people working at NGOs in different areas, different social movements. This potential translates itself in the participation of individual people who sometimes meet, smile, debate, question and weave some webs (2006: 6).

In this section, I am concerned with grassroots organisations (past and present), women's groups in academia, formal and informal networks and virtual groups, because these have been the key actors in respect of intimate citizenship and women's collective action in Portugal. For this reason, this section does not address professional women's organisations⁵⁰ nor anti-choice women's organisations⁵¹. A separate section on Reproductive Rights will address pro-choice groups and coalitions, later on in this report.

⁴⁹ These included the research centre Faces de Eva – Centre for Studies of Women, of the New University of Lisbon, the MA course on Women's Studies of the Open University, the Organisation for the Study of Women (APEM) and other researchers coming from the universities of Porto, Minho and Coimbra.

⁵⁰ These would include, for example, the Portuguese Association of Women Lawyers, the Portuguese Association of Women Scientists, the Portuguese Organisation of Women Farmers and the Rural Women or the Portuguese Organisation of Women Entrepreneurs.

⁵¹ These will be briefly addressed under the section about Pro-Family organisations.

3.3.1. Grassroots Women's Organisations in the Present

- **Association of Women Against Violence – AMCV**⁵²

AMCV started its activities in 1993, and its aim is to help women who are victims of violence. They run a women's shelter and an anti-violence centre where legal information and psychological support are provided to women upon request. AMCV has strongly invested in running training workshops with different target groups (police officers, health professionals, lawyers, judges, teachers, etc.), tackling some intimate and sexual citizenship issues, namely domestic violence, children's sexual abuse, bullying and trafficking.

- **Clube Safo – Association in Defence of Lesbian Rights (CS)**⁵³

Clube Safo (CS) was born in 1996 aiming at providing support and visibility to lesbian women and lesbian issues. Its main activities consist of peer support, women-only camps and debates. CS issues a regular magazine called *Zona Livre* [Free Zone]. They have addressed several intimate citizenship issues in their activities, particularly those related to same-sex partnership and parenthood.

- **Don't Deprive Yourself – Group in Defence of Sexual Rights (NTP)**⁵⁴

NTP was born in 2002, as a local youth organisation aiming to tackle women's rights and LGBT anti-discrimination. It is therefore a queer feminist organisation, whose main topics have been gender stereotypes, abortion, LGBT visibility, sexism and equality. Its more visible activity occurred in 2004, when they co-organised the Making Waves Campaign, which invited Women on Waves and their "abortion ship" to Portugal. This campaign relied heavily on direct action initiatives as well as media campaigning in order to pressure national authorities to change the Portuguese restrictive abortion laws (which happened in 2007). NTP activities also include organising seminars and workshops, film seasons, debates in schools, demonstrations, leafleting and media campaigning. The issues that have been most central to NTO have been abortion, gender violence and same-sex partnership.

⁵² Information retrieved from <http://www.amcv.org.pt/> (accessed 18/10/2008).

⁵³ Information retrieved from <http://www.clubesafos.com/> (accessed 15/10/2008).

⁵⁴ Information retrieved from <http://www.naoteprives.org/> (accessed 17/10/2008).

- **Graal – Portuguese branch of The Grail**⁵⁵

Originally born in the Netherlands in 1921, the Portuguese branch of The Grail started in 1957, although its official recognition in Portugal dates only from 1985. It is Catholic-oriented. There are three centres of Graal in the country – Golegã, Lisbon and Oporto. Graal belongs to several NGO platforms, including the Consultant Council of the Commission on Women's Rights and Equality (CIDM) and the Youth Portuguese Network For Equality. Some of the issues addressed by this organisations have been: the education of women in rural areas, particularly literacy campaigns during the 1970s; local development, peace and women's representations in the media (1980s); employment, self-employment, training, and women as tourist guides (1990s); and work/family balance, namely through time management (the "time bank" initiative) and global ethical awareness (*etica planetaria*), in the 2000s. Graal has always been invested in developing critical consciousness, what they call *conscientisation* after a notion developed by Paulo Freire (1970; 1976) through literacy campaigns.

- **Justice and Peace Action – AJP**⁵⁶

AJP started in 1973 under a different name – Youth Action for Peace. In 2004, it changed its name to Justice and Peace Action, to convey the idea that its focus is not exclusively youth. In fact, women have been at the centre of AJP's actions, and AJP has used the word feminism extensively in its documents, activities and publications. International networking and development is also part of their activities, namely through summer camps and raising awareness and solidarity campaigns regarding the situation of women in other regions of the world. Activities include seminars on young women against racism and xenophobia, annual conferences on women (Sem Preconceitos), campaigns in schools on violence against women, and promoting equality between women and men, human rights training, promoting fair-trade, etc. There is also an annual publication which started in 2002 called *Artigo Feminino*, which, according to their website, is "a publication which every year focuses on a different topic within feminist and feminine [female] perspectives, thus registering their knowledge, contributions and histories in

⁵⁵ Information retrieved from <http://www.graal.org.pt/> (accessed 19/10/2008).

⁵⁶ Information retrieved from <http://www.ajpaz.org.pt/> and <http://www.ajpaz.org.pt/feminismo.htm> (accessed 12/10/2008).

the Construction of Another World based on Parity as the Way to Equality, Freedom, Solidarity, Justice and Peace” [my translation].

- **Les – Discussion Group on Lesbian Issues**

It was created in 2008 and is currently leading the way amongst lesbian activists and scholars in relation to organising regular forums for meeting, debating and reflecting upon lesbian identities, rights and activism. Since 2009, Les is editing an online journal called *LES Online*.⁵⁷

- **Portuguese Association Women and Sports**

This organisation was created in 1998 as an “organisation of women’s rights which aims at promoting equality and the participation of women in sports at all levels, jobs and spheres of competence”.⁵⁸

- **UMAR – United Women Alternative and Answer**⁵⁹

It was created in 1976, after a women’s meeting in a Higher Education Technical Institute in Lisbon. UMAR changed its name three times (but always keeping the same acronym) – in 1976 it was called Revolutionary and Antifascist Women’s Union; in 1989 it changed to Movement For the Social Emancipation of Women; and after 1995 it was called Women’s Union Alternative and Answer. An internal document dating from 1989 describes their early members as women involved in many struggles after the revolution, namely the rights to housing, nurseries, employment, equal pay, literacy, water, electricity and roads (Tavares, 2000). This wide spectrum of claims was a common feature of UMAR in its early years. In 1978, UMAR organised a demonstration against trafficking in Oporto, and from that moment on the focus shifted to legalizing abortion. Other initiatives concerned denouncing sexual harassment in one factory (Lisnave) and discrimination in employment, demanding maternity hospitals, opposing specific policies (like the benefit for mothers announced by the government in 1980) and supporting the only woman running for Presidential elections in 1986. UMAR published the magazine *Mulher d’Abril* [April’s Woman].

⁵⁷ <http://www.lespt.org/lesonline> (accessed 30/12/2009).

⁵⁸ <http://www.mulheresdesporto.org.pt/> (accessed 15/10/2008).

⁵⁹ <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/> (accessed 16/10/2008).

In 2004, UMAR launched an Observatory of Murdered Women, which collects data published in the media about women who die as a consequence of domestic violence.⁶⁰ This initiative has obtained media visibility, especially around the International Day Against Gender Violence (25 November).

- **Women's Democratic Movement – MDM⁶¹**

MDM is one of the oldest women's organisations in Portugal and it has branches in several cities. It was born in 1968, with a strong focus on the anti-war protest (colonial war). Its first formal meeting took place in October 1973 and it gathered 300 women. It issued its first document explaining its aims and demands in 1974, including demands for equal pay; equal access to employment; legal equality; social services regarding domestic work (refectories, nurseries, laundries); maternity leave of 14 weeks and free health care in birth giving. Other demands put forward in 1974 included the right to vote for all illiterate people.

In the 1980s, MDM addressed the topics of abortion, peace, sex education and family planning and violence (Tavares, 2000). Throughout the 1990s, they carried on activities addressing these issues, with a particular focus on women and the labour market (salary gap, job precarity) and the welfare state (low levels of social protection, poverty, family planning). Their objectives in 2008 include promoting women's rights as "citizens, workers and mothers"; raising awareness and fighting against sexist discrimination in "society, family and employment"; promoting the principle of equal pay for equal work; enforcing work and family balance; and fighting for the recognition of maternity as a "social function".⁶² Therefore, MDM has addressed several intimate citizenship issues over time, particularly abortion, sex education, family planning and work/family balance.

- **Women 21st Century – Association for Women's Development and Support**

This organisation aims at supporting women, as well as children and elders who are dependent on women. It focuses on EU funded projects tackling gender equality, balancing family and work

⁶⁰ <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/observatorioviol/observatorio.html> (accessed 27/11/2008).

⁶¹ <http://www.mdm.org.pt/> (accessed 25/11/2008).

⁶² Aims available at http://www.mdm.org.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=49&Itemid=29 (accessed 27/11/2008).

life, domestic violence and trafficking. Invested in institutional-based partnerships and agreements, namely with municipalities and health centres, this organisation is co-responsible for offering free psychological support to victims of domestic violence in the district of Leiria. It also organises debates and seminars in schools, raising awareness about equality and against violence, as well as workshops focused on women and entrepreneurship.

3.3.2. Grassroots Women's Organisations in the Past

- **Women's Liberation Movement – MLM**

The MLM emerged in 1974, in the aftermath of the “Three Marias” court case. It was a very active radical feminist group. Their first leaflet, in 1975, gathered claims such as gender equality in the Constitution and remaining laws, penalising sexist discrimination, equal pay, equal access to employment, recognition of the value of domestic labour, free services such as nurseries, free health care for women, right to free abortion and contraception and sex education. It organised one of the most (in)famous events in the history of feminism in Portugal – the women's gathering of 1975, in Lisbon, where men attacked and insulted women (as mentioned earlier). No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

- **Women's Editorial Cooperative (Cooperativa Editorial de Mulheres)**

The Women's Editorial Cooperative was born in 1977. One of its initiatives was the creation of the IDM – Information Documentation Women, an information resource centre created in 1978, in the aftermath of the revolution, aiming at gathering publications and other types of material addressing women's issues. This resulted in several publications, including bulletins and, from 1982 onwards, the feminist magazine LUA ('Moon').

After 1979, the major issue was legalizing abortion and this organization became a member of the National Campaign for Abortion and Contraception (CNAC). In 1987, they also organised a seminar in Lisbon about violence against women (Tavares, 2000). No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

- **GAMP – Autonomous Oporto Women's Group**

This was a grassroots organization created in 1978, and it published, on and off, the bulletin *Woman's Situation*. Its focus was the fight against patriarchy and any regime that oppresses women. It called for the fundamental right of control over one's own body, to control reproduction and to have access to abortion, and sex education. It also called for a curtailment of sexist language (Tavares, 2000). No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

- **GMP – Oporto Women's Group**

This was an intellectual organisation created in 1982, dedicated to debating in small groups. From 1985 to 1987, they published the magazine *Artemisia*, which described itself as “a project which is open to all feminist discourses and tendencies” (Tavares, 2000: 66). Among the topics included in this publication are female sexuality, violence against women, women's health, international feminist meetings, lesbianism, new reproductive technologies and abortion. This organization was a member of the National Campaign for Abortion and Contraception (CNAC). No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

- **Women's Group of the Academic Association of Coimbra**

This was created in 1979. They were very active, with several bulletins addressing topics such as culture and art, abortion, employment, sexuality, and contraception. In its first bulletin, it set the parameters of its future action: “We want to question and denounce our daily lives as well as the system which oppresses us at home, in the streets, at work [...] this system which is a patriarchal and capitalist society. [...] It is urgent to build a new and different society, in which, together with the abolition of mankind exploitation, women's oppression is also abolished” (Tavares, 2000: 66-67). No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

- **MAPA – Women Preparing Tomorrow**

This was born in 1983, as a result of Graal's intervention in the rural areas. It had 700 members and edited a bulletin. No more information about this organisation was available at the time of writing.

3.3.3. Women's Groups in the Academia

- **Centre for the Information, Promotion and Monitoring of Politics for Equality – CIPA**⁶³

CIPA was created in 2005, resulting from an EU funded research project based in the Azores, Madeira and Canary Islands. Its activities are mainly focused on a documentation and resources centre that gathers information about equal opportunities between women and men. CIPA is also invested in promoting and monitoring politics for equality. In this field, it organises seminars with invited speakers, and acts as a privileged interlocutor amongst regional political authorities.

- **Portuguese Women's Studies Association – APEM**⁶⁴

APEM was created in 1991 and it defines itself as a “science-based organisation [...] that aims to support, promote and stir women's studies/gender studies /feminist studies in all fields of knowledge”. Gathering experts, lecturers and researchers of several institutions nationwide, its aims include dissemination of research calls, data and results, as well as facilitating communication between researchers working in the same field and establishing networks with similar organisations worldwide.

- **Portuguese Association for Historic Research about Women**

Created in 1997, it aims at “promoting, triggering, supporting and valuing historical research about women, in Portugal” (Alvim, 2000: 144). This organisation is invested in national and international networking between researchers, as well as dissemination of historical studies about women. This association has organised annual thematic meetings, including “Women, history and society” (1998), “Women's history and their contribution to the construction of Portugal” (1999) and “Making women's history: from home to school, from school to university” (2000).

⁶³ Information retrieved from www.cipavioleto.org (accessed 19/10/2008).

⁶⁴ More information available at <http://www.apem-estudos.org/> (accessed 21/11/2008).

3.3.4. Women's Networks and Coalitions in Portugal

- CCF / CIDM / CIG

In 1977, the law-decree 485 created the Commission for the Feminine Condition (CCF), under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Its aims were to contribute to the acknowledgement of maternity and paternity as socially useful functions; to promote equality policies; to promote women's studies and to disseminate information on women's rights; and to liaise with other NGOs. In 1985, the consultants' council of the CCF gathered 12 NGOs. Some of the issues discussed were night shifts for women working in industry, decreasing the age of retirement for women to 60 years old, sexual harassment, and assisted conception (Rebelo, 1998; Bento, 1998). Abortion was always a contentious topic, because some of the women's NGOs that belonged to the consultants' council were anti-choice. This generated discomfort, particularly after the 1998 referendum in which the CCF remained silent. As a result, some organisations created a working group on Sexual and Reproductive Rights, after an initiative by APF.

In 1991, under the Ministry for Employment and Welfare, the CCF changed its name to Commission for the Equality and Rights of Women (CIDM). In 1995, CIDM became once again directly linked to the Prime Minister's Office. It was also in that year that the role of a High Commissioner for Promoting Equality and Family was created. During the 1990s, many more organisations joined the consultants' council. The main problem seemed to be the fragile connection between some of these and the people they allegedly represented. Many NGOs had little more than institutional or formal work within CIDM, with little done in terms of grassroots fieldwork (Bento, 1998).

After 2007, CIDM was re-created as CIG (Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality).⁶⁵ CIG had a leading role in the events related to the European Year for Equality (2007), bridging the gap between different sources of exclusion and oppression, namely gender, disability, ethnicity and migration, sexual orientation, age and religion.

In 2008, there were 40 organisations in the consultants' council of CIG, gathering NGOs from fields as diverse as youth, migration, religion, disability, LGBT, ethnic minorities and gender.

⁶⁵ Law-decree n. 164/2007, 3 May, article 6.

The widening of CIG's scope has necessitated a revision of the criteria for inclusion onto the consultants' council. One of its aims is to contribute to the political agenda. They also lobby for equality policies and gender equality at different levels. In 2008, CIG launched a national campaign against trafficking, including leaflets in different languages, a radio spot and a TV spot.

- **Portuguese Platform for Women's Rights**

Created in 2004, this is an NGO whose members are women's rights NGOs.⁶⁶ Its main aim is "to foster cooperation for collective reflection and action in the promotion of women's rights and gender equality through several means, such as research, lobbying, dissemination of information, awareness-raising and training. [...] The Platform wishes to contribute to the empowerment, articulation and mobilisation of Portuguese Women's Rights NGOs and to the reinforcement of its networking and cooperation relations with European and International NGOs working in this field, in order to strengthen and support these NGOs' important social role as actors in the implementation of gender equality. Therefore, the Portuguese Platform for Women's Rights represents Portugal in the European Women's Lobby and the Association des Femmes de l'Europe Méridionale. The Platform also aims to contribute to the implementation of gender mainstreaming, particularly in the context of the media".⁶⁷

- **Purple Network**⁶⁸

This Network was created in Coimbra in March 2003 and it gathered activists from several social movements, with a particular focus on women's and LGBT organisations. The short-term goal was to guarantee fair treatment of women and gender issues during the 1st Portuguese Social Forum (FSP), which was to take place in June 2003. Another aim was to mobilise participants for activities within the World March of Women, namely during the Portuguese Social Forum and in the World March of Women's meeting in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, in 2004. Finally, it also aimed at "contributing to a feminist agenda in Portugal, identifying as priorities the struggle for

⁶⁶ The organisations that were involved in the constitution of the Platform were: Alliance for Parity Democracy, Association of Women against Violence, Association for the Development of Portuguese Roma Women and Children; Feminine Intervention, GRAAL, 21st Century Women, Portuguese Network of Young People for Gender Equality, Association for Development and Professional Training of Miranda do Corvo and Union of Women Alternative and Response (UMAR).

⁶⁷ Information retrieved from <http://www.womenlobby.org/site/hp.asp> (accessed 26/11/2008).

⁶⁸ More information about this network available at <http://mulheres-em-marcha.blogspot.com/> (accessed 27/11/2008).

the decriminalisation of abortion and the eradication of all forms of patriarchal violence” [my translation].⁶⁹

The Purple Network was a key actor during the FSP, in which gender issues were the main topic of many workshops, and gender parity respected in all plenary session. Because the FSP gathered hundreds of activists from many social movements, the Purple Network initiated a debate about gender equality which cut across many sectors of civil society in Portugal in an unprecedented way.

- **World March of Women – WMW⁷⁰**

The WMW is a global network of feminist activists struggling to eliminate violence and poverty among women. It was created in 1998, gathering more than 6000 women’s groups and organisations from 163 countries. In Portugal, it started in 2000 when the Portuguese Platform of the WMW collected 35,000 signatures in support of the initiative and gathered 100 NGOs and 10,000 people in a massive street demonstration in October 2000 (Bento, 2007). After that event, some organisations remained active in the Portuguese Coordination of the WMW. These were the Association of Women Against Violence – AMCV, Clube Safo – Association in Defence of Lesbian Rights (CS), Don’t Deprive Yourself – Group in Defence of Sexual Rights (NTP), ILGA Portugal, Justice and Peace Action – AJP, Portuguese Network of Young People for Gender Equality (REDE) and UMAR – United Women Alternative and Answer. There were also other organisations supporting the WMW, despite not being part of the Coordination.⁷¹ The principles of the 2005 Manifesto of the WMW in Portugal were equality, freedom, solidarity, justice and peace.

⁶⁹ Available at http://www.geocities.com/girl_ilga/noticias.htm (accessed 28/11/2008).

⁷⁰ More information about this network available at <http://www.worldmarchofwomen.org> (accessed 28/11/2008).

⁷¹ These were: APF, ADDIM (Associação Democrática Defesa Direitos Igualdade, Amnistia Internacional), APEM, Associação Académica de Coimbra, Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, Associação IN LOCO, Associação Portuguesa A Mulher e O Desporto, Humana Global, Associação de Mulheres do Concelho de Moura, Olho Vivo – Associação para a Defesa do Património, Ambiente e Direitos Humanos, REAPN Setúbal, Sobreiro 19, Solidariedade Imigrante and SPGL (Sindicato Professores Grande Lisboa).

3.3.5. Other Outlets for Feminist Visibility – Women’s Periodicals and the WWW

Women’s periodicals can be split into three categories: popular feminist magazines, scientific journals and NGO bulletins. Among the popular feminist magazines, publications included *Alma Feminina*, directed by Adelaide Cabete in 1928 and *Mulheres*, directed by Maria Teresa Horta. Both of these publications have ended. There were three scientific journals, two of which still exist nowadays: *Artemísia* (during the 1980s), *Faces de Eva* (1999- until present) and *Revista Ex Aequo* (1999-present).⁷² Concerning the NGOs bulletins, these include the *Boletim do Grupo da Mulher da AAC* (during the 1970s), *Cipa* (<http://www.cipavioleta.org/>), *Lilás* (created in 1993), *Organa* (the first lesbian magazine, created in 1991, publishing nine issues) and *Zona Livre* (created in 1997, by Clube Safo).

The feminist presence on the World Wide Web is recent. Besides NGO websites, blogs have become an important electronic resource, particularly for debating and disseminating feminist-related events. Two examples are the Feminist Collective⁷³ and the Chicks’ Gossips⁷⁴. These blogs are run by feminists who remain anonymous and also organise direct action initiatives outside the WWW, namely:

- Stencils
- ‘Flash-mobs’ and ‘freezing-ins’⁷⁵ initiatives
- Stickers in dressing rooms, recycling points, etc

Parallel to collective online action, examples of individual feminist visibility on the WWW include *Renas & Veados*⁷⁶, *Lilás com Gengibre*⁷⁷, *Caranguejo*⁷⁸, *Confraria do Atum*⁷⁹,

⁷² Abstracts are available at <http://www.apem-estudos.org/publicados.htm> (accessed 20/10/2008).

⁷³ Since April 2006. Can be accessed in <http://www.colectivofeminista.blogspot.com/>.

⁷⁴ Since October 2006. Can be accessed in <http://www.cuscasdagajas.blogspot.com/>.

⁷⁵ ‘Freezing-ins’ are direct action initiatives that consist of gathering a group of people in a busy place at a particular time of the day where they will all stand still for one minute holding banners with a previously agreed message. For example: “I am freezing for equality”.

⁷⁶ Since 2003, available at <http://renaseveados.blogspot.com/>.

⁷⁷ Since 2004, available at <http://www.gengibreililas.blogspot.com/>.

⁷⁸ Since 2005, available at <http://pirataquesefoi.blogspot.com/>.

⁷⁹ Since 2005, available at <http://confrariadoatum.blogspot.com/>. Disbanded in January 2009.

Enciclopedia Chinesa⁸⁰, O Mal da Indiferença⁸¹, Sexualidade Feminina⁸² and Sexualidades no Feminino.⁸³

Summing up, rather than constituting a consistently strong social movement over the past thirty years, the women's movement has built up its potential in terms of mobilisation, visibility and participation in decision-making processes. This process has been slow and dispersed over several groups focusing on their own initiatives, as this section has explored.

However, there are moments of strong activism in which women's organisations reunite. In the field of intimate citizenship, these issues are mostly related to abortion and domestic violence. I will return to these topics later in this report.

3.4. Boundaries and Contentious Issues of the Women's Movement in Portugal

When we describe the women's movement and women's organisations in Portugal, we are not necessarily referring to the same reality. This is mainly because there are conservative women's organisations which are anti-choice, whereas abortion rights have always been at the core of Portuguese feminist action. An example of an organisation's remit that could prove misleading because of its name is Women in Action, an active member of the self-designated Pro-Life Movement.⁸⁴ If the women's movement can be considered feminist, not all women's organisations will necessarily regard themselves as being so. Moreover, some conservative organisations will define themselves as feminists, whereas other non-conservative organisations reject the label 'feminist'.

However, all women's organisations share common goals, namely equal opportunities (in employment, in politics, etc) and freedom from domestic violence. There are also issues that unite pro-choice feminist women's organisations. Among these, abortion and violence against women are most strongly related to intimate citizenship. Nevertheless, these shared features have

⁸⁰ Since 2006, available at <http://certaenciclopedia.blogspot.com/index.html>.

⁸¹ Since 2005, available at <http://feministactual.wordpress.com/>.

⁸² Since 2006, available at <http://www.sexualidadefeminina.blogspot.com/>.

⁸³ Since 2005, available at <http://sexualidadesnofeminino.blogspot.com/>.

⁸⁴ For more information about this organisation, please refer to section 3.16 about conservative women's groups.

never been sufficient to generate alliances between anti-choice and pro-choice feminist organisations, except for the purpose of participating on a TV programme dealing with less contentious topics, such as sexual harassment at the workplace.

Conflict within women's organisations in Portugal is a topic that remains absent from sociological research. As a result, in exploring secondary sources, I did not come across any ideological or strategic clashes between women's organisations. However, based on informal conversations and my experience as an activist, I would suggest that the apparent absence of conflict is in fact based on what is described in books, papers and websites, rather than on what is taking place on the ground. Interviews with feminist activists who have been in the women's movement for more than a decade might offer insights into what has constituted division or unity at different times. Rather than escalating conflict or dissent among organisations over specific topics, what seems to be more common is some organisations speaking about particular issues, whether or not others avoid them. A good example of this is the issues of prostitution and sex work. Most women's organisations are either against legalisation or try to avoid any public statement on the subject. Although this does seem to be changing in recent years, only one women's NGO – a representative of the Association of Women Jurists – spoke at a one-day conference on prostitution and trafficking organised by the Parliamentary Commission on Parity, Equal Opportunities and Family (1997). The remaining invited speakers were politicians, police officers and other legal authorities and representatives of NGOs dealing generally with the support of victims, and with prostitution.⁸⁵ More recently, in March 2008, UMAR has promoted an internal debate about prostitution. As a result, a consensual agreement was reached amongst its members based on the Swedish model (criminalising the clients, not the prostitutes). It demanded that other organisations in the Portuguese Coordination of the World March of Women should share their position on the topic.

Another example of tension is the argument for the right to control over one's body when debating the issue of abortion. Many pro-choice women's organisations reject this line of argument, preferring to focus on victimisation, health, humiliation and shame, as I discuss later

⁸⁵ More details about this event, including the programme, at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/3020307.PDF> (access 10/10/2008).

on. Another example that will be further discussed is the link between feminism and lesbianism, a difficult area that triggers some past resentments.⁸⁶

There was also dissent around the preparation and evaluation of pro-choice campaigns, such as “Making Waves” – when the Dutch organisation Women on Waves was invited to bring their abortion clinic onto a boat to Portugal in 2004 – and the use of the language of choice in the 2007 referendum.⁸⁷ I will return to this topic later.

Equally important is the fact that not all women’s organisations consider themselves to be feminist. Only five out of eleven women’s rights NGOs and members of the government body CIDM (now CIG), were reported to be feminist organisations, according to a 1996 survey (Canotilho *et al*, 2006).⁸⁸ Hence, there are women’s organisations – particularly gathered around the professions – which do not participate in or organise feminist events. Examples of these include the Association of Women Entrepreneurs or the Association of Women Farmers.⁸⁹ Another example would be O Ninho, an organisation created in 1967 with the support of the Catholic Church and that has as its main aim the “human and social development of women who are victims of prostitution”. They are against the legalisation of prostitution, which they consider would transform the state into “a pimp who complies with criminals”.⁹⁰

Conversely, there is one organisation which, although it cannot be described as a women’s organisation, has always been a key partner in such organisations’ demands – namely abortion, contraception and sex education. This is the APF, Family Planning Association (a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation). APF was created in 1967 aiming at “promoting health, education and rights in the sphere of sexuality and family planning”.⁹¹ Moreover, APF

⁸⁶ For more about this issue, see *Les Online*, issue 1, available at <http://www.lespt.org/lesonline> (accessed 30/12/2009), as well as Santos 2007 and Pena *et al* 2008.

⁸⁷ One example was the online debate generated at <http://gengibreililas.blogspot.com/2006/12/sobre-os-muitos-discursos-da-campanha.html> (accessed 05/12/2008).

⁸⁸ The feminist-identified organisations were the Women Studies Portuguese Association (APEM), the Women’s Against Violence Association (AMVC), the Family Planning Association (APF), the Feminine Intervention (IF) and UMAR.

⁸⁹ An exception to this would be the Association of Women Jurists, which has been an important ally in the pro-choice struggle. This association was an active member of the Platform Right to Chose, which was an important collective actor during the 2001 court case against women accused of illegal abortion. More information about this organisation is available at http://sindicatodasciencias.weblog.com.pt/arquivo/2005/12/o_movimento_fem_1.html (accessed 08/10/2008).

⁹⁰ Available at <http://www.oninho.pt/> (accessed 10/06/2008; my translation).

⁹¹ Available at <http://www.apf.pt/apf.htm> (accessed 19/05/2008).

was one of the few organisations within CIDM that, in 1996, self-identified as feminist (Canotilho *et al*, 2006).

3.5. Intimate Life and Intimate Citizenship Issues within the Women's Movement in Portugal –Targets, Strategies and Contributions

Targets

The main targets of women's organisations in Portugal consist of the political sphere in general (Parliament, political parties) and the Government in particular. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, it is a result of the institutionalisation of women's organisations during the 1980s, particularly after the creation of CCF (later CIDM and presently CIG). Secondly, it concerns the pragmatic need to maximise resources. This requires the identification of precise interlocutors to lobby whenever there is a need to demand new laws or benefits. Thirdly, European institutions' focus on milestones and targets has contributed to a change in approach – the movement is focused more on measurable results and achievements. Thus, overturning a discriminatory law seems more doable than changing stereotypical gender roles or traditional beliefs about the structure of the family.

According to Amâncio (1998), there is an “intimate relationship between many women's NGOs and the state, which results in a very thin frontier between the established political power and civil society, and that in turn means that the NGOs' agendas are determined by political powers” [my translation]. As a result, Amâncio continues, most women's organisations in Portugal develop a strategy that is “more oriented towards recognition from and influence of governmental bodies than towards civil society and the creation of shared platforms that might give them public visibility”. The author illustrates her argument with reference to the consultants' council within the former Commission for the Equality and Rights of Women (CIDM, currently CIG). Rather than focusing on coalition and campaigning together as women's rights organizations, a priority for feminist activism is to get a seat at the consultants' council. This suggests the women's movement contains a certain level of fragility, according to Amâncio. Nevertheless, civil society has also been addressed by the women's organisations, particularly in terms of denouncing

patriarchy; this was the case especially in the 1970s, immediately after the revolution. Increasingly, however, the tendency shifted to address government more, and society less.

There has also been a recent shift in the targeting of men for feminist action. Some women's organisations, particularly (but not exclusively) feminist youth organisations, have launched campaigns that directly aim at mobilising men for feminist issues. In early 2007, the Feminist Collective launched a stickers' campaign, posting anonymously in public places (including in WCs, on recycling/waste bins, walls, etc), which read: "There is nothing as sexy as a feminist man":⁹²



During the abortion referendum campaign, the queer feminist youth organisation NTP (Don't Deprive Yourself) launched this poster calling for pro-choice male votes:⁹³



In November 2008, UMAR launched an online petition called "I am not an accomplice" which called for men to get involved in fighting and denouncing cases of domestic violence.⁹⁴

⁹² Available at <http://colectivofeminista.blogspot.com/search/label/homens%20feministas> (accessed 19/01/2009).

⁹³ Available at <http://naoteprives.blogspot.com/2007/02/campanha-homens-pela-escolha-eu-voto.html> (accessed 19/01/2009).

⁹⁴ More about this petition available at <http://www.petitiononline.com/UMAR/petition.html> and <http://eunaosoucumplir.wordpress.com/> (accessed 19/01/2009).

Strategies and demands

According to a questionnaire sent to women's NGOs, the main areas of intervention have been women's social, political and economic autonomy; gender parity in the political sphere; support to victims of domestic violence, to women farmers and to migrant women; abortion, sex education and family planning (Tavares, 2000: 122). The two major areas of demands concerning intimate citizenship have been reproductive rights/health (the right to have an abortion upon request and the right to have access to free contraception) and domestic violence (legal protection against domestic violence, raising social and institutional awareness, creating adequate services for victims). I will return to these topics later on in this report. Other claims have included better health and social service provision for mothers (particularly nurseries and free health care, during the 1970s), but these issues were not as central for the women's movement as abortion and violence.

The language of choice has been used to debate abortion rights and it was particularly central during the 1970s and the 1980s, when pro-choice activists did not hesitate in framing abortion rights as the right to control over one's own body. For instance, in 1975, the first book published in Portugal on this topic was called *Abortion, the Right to Our Bodies*.⁹⁵ It read:

Abortion is, more than anything else, a personal issue. Therefore the decision to have an abortion is up to the pregnant women alone, who has (or should have) the human right to control her own body and use it as she well pleases. (cit in Tavares, 2003a: 18).

However, in the 2007 referendum campaign, choice became a controversial topic, dividing feminists in Portugal regardless of their generation or organisation (Duarte, 2007; Whitten, 2008). As Whitten points out:

Walking through Lisbon in the weeks before the referendum, every Yes billboard and sign showed young women in negative situations: behind prison bars, being escorted from a building (presumably a courthouse) with their faces under a coat, or cowering on the floor with their heads in their hands. These images were accompanied by phrases containing the words "humiliation", "shame", "dignity" and "responsibility"; the first two words referred to the problem society and women faced (respectively), and the following two referred to the objectives that society and women desired (also

⁹⁵ Authored by Maria Teresa Horta, Celia Metrass and Helena de Sa Medeiros, published by Editorial Futura.

respectively). The word *escolha* (choice) was only seen in graffiti, marginalized activism that was not supported by the Yes campaign [...] (2008: 4).

The dominant trend – embraced by campaigners during the 2007 referendum that decriminalised abortion – is to move away from the argument of choice, which is now seen as being too radical and aggressive. Instead, the language of victimisation and tolerance, alongside sexual and reproductive health, is more common amongst feminists in Portugal (Alves *et al*, 2009). There has also been the language of justice and rights, which tends to be detached from topics such as choice or the right to one's own body, focusing instead on the right to be free from prisons, courts and health problems (including death), as well as on the need to fight illegal abortion.

Citizenship was also part of the abortion debate, particularly when women were taken to court accused of having had abortions. The arguments used described women as second-class citizens who were refused the right to make decisions that concerned their individual and private reproductive health.

Tavares (2003b) has analysed the changing discourses and images used by women's organisations in Portugal in relation to abortion.⁹⁶ She describes how the banner "I rule in my own belly" has developed into a broader notion of citizenship, one that includes reproductive and bodily citizenship rights. Her analysis illustrates that the discourse on rights is expanding amongst women's rights activists in Portugal. From a time, in the 1990s, when the discourse focused around issues of women's dignity, humiliation and social drama, in the 2000s the discursive shift includes indignation, the right to one's body, resisting unfair laws and promoting solidarity towards women taken to court. Tavares argues that the right to decide about an unwanted pregnancy is a matter of citizenship rights.

The language of difference is rarely used. Patriarchy, which was used by women's groups during the 1970s, is still a central word for Portuguese feminism:

This Congress happens in a time when it is necessary to put in the agenda the fact that women have not achieved the equality standards yet, despite the social progress accomplished so far. Patriarchy is still deeply rooted in social, economic, political, legal, cultural, familial and sexual structures, as well as in the representations and

⁹⁶ This analysis was based on three publications: UMAR, 1998; Platform Right to Chose, 2002; and Tavares, 2003a.

mental and symbolic structures that allow for its ongoing perpetuation (Magalhães, 2008: 2)

Contributions

The contribution of the women's movement in Portugal is somewhat diffuse. This is because legal changes concerning equality issues were largely a product of macro-processes of modernisation and democratisation, associated with the revolution and the former EEC, rather than a direct achievement of Portuguese women's collective action. However, it is important to underline the multiple ways in which these macro-processes of modernisation and democratisation benefited from the demands and achievements of feminist women's movements in countries such as France, the US or the UK. In fact, several important Portuguese feminist activists spent time living abroad during the dictatorship, or engaged in trans-national coalition activities with women worldwide. Furthermore, if we consider specific moments of strong activism around catalysing issues such as abortion, the impacts of women's collective action become clearer. In 2000, Tavares interviewed 30 feminist activists from women's groups in Portugal. There was a general sense that their intervention had been important in order to generate change. Indeed, at the level of discursive change, women's organisations have had a visible impact in disseminating the common usage of notions such as sexism, feminism and equality, which find resonances way beyond academia and are increasingly used by the media.

Both abortion and domestic violence have had wide media coverage around certain initiatives. In the case of abortion, national media highlights have centred on the referendums in 1998 and 2007 and court cases (especially 2001, 2003 and 2005). The direct action initiative "Making Waves" grasped unprecedented international and national media attention. On the issue of domestic violence, the media have reported cases of abuse and got particularly interested in UMAR's initiative called "Observatory of Murdered Women", an annual report based on media accounts of women who were killed by their sexual partners.

In the sphere of party politics, these issues gained more visibility after the Left Bloc gathered enough votes to secure seats in Parliament in 1999. In 2005 Helena Pinto, former president of the feminist organisation UMAR was elected as MP with the Left Bloc, thus reinforcing the visibility of women's rights in Parliament.

In relation to art, feminist artists supported pro-choice initiatives in several ways before abortion upon request became legalised. For instance, in 2004 the male painter Mario Silva opened an exhibition containing portraits of 100 women. The exhibition was organised inside a container, similar to the one where Women on Waves' abortion clinic operates, and it was placed in the harbour where the Women on Waves' boat was expected to stop for a week. The event got a lot of media attention and the artist offered several pro-choice statements. In 2007, female painters such as Paula Rego and Graça Morais, amongst others, donated several of their art works to go in an auction in order to raise money aimed at funding the pro-choice organisation Movimento Cidadania e Responsabilidade pelo Sim.⁹⁷ Most pro-choice organisations for the 2007 referendum included other well-known figures from the world of Portuguese culture, such as actors, novelists, comedians and singers.

3.6. Intimate Citizenship Issues Among People and Organisations of Roma and Cape Verde background – Claims and Demands of Chosen Minoritised Groups in Portugal

Cape Verdean

In 2005, the Federation of Cape Verdean organisations in Portugal organised an art exhibition of paintings, sculptures and photography as a way to pay homage to Cape Verdean women. The aim was to “give visibility to the effort of women who have been overcoming obstacles, disrupting prejudice and achieving new positions in the receiving society”.⁹⁸ The opening was headed by the Cape Verdean Minister of Foreign Affairs (Vitor Borges) and the Cape Verdean ambassador in Portugal (Arnaldo Andrade). The money raised from this event was partially donated to the Foundation Infância Feliz that works with homeless children in Cape Verde.

⁹⁷ As described in http://diario.iol.pt/noticia.html?id=761477&div_id=4071 (accessed 05/12/2008).

⁹⁸ Available at <http://www.federacaocv.org/noticias.php> (accessed 09/07/2008).



Caption: Opening of the exhibition, at the Belmonte Palace, Lisbon.

The president of the Cape Verdean Association, Alcestina Tolentino, is personally engaged in women's issues, but until this moment, her desire to create a women's group within the organisation has not yet been achieved.⁹⁹ However, research demonstrates that women play a major role as the supporting pillar of Cape Verdean communities in the Diaspora, namely in Portugal and the Netherlands, the topic of Celeste Fortes' PhD thesis of 2007.¹⁰⁰

Roma

AMUCIP – Association for the Development of Portuguese Roma Women and Children – is the only NGO dealing with women's issues specifically. It was created by Roma women in 2000 and their aims include the protection of Roma women against unfair policies and actions; to promote information about rights, duties and opportunities for Roma women and children; to mediate between the Roma community and state institutions in relation to the role of Roma women; and to organise recreational events.¹⁰¹

They have developed several projects and initiatives targeting the self-development of Roma women. One of these was the project “Dreaming will take us there”, a joint initiative of AMUCIP and the Centre of Studies for Social Intervention, funded by the EQUAL initiative of the European Social Fund. The manual of good practices that resulted from this project says: “The visibility of the empowerment of Roma women is fundamental for their affirmation within the

⁹⁹ Information collected informally during fieldwork in Portugal, June 2008.

¹⁰⁰ More information available at http://arquivo.vozdipovo-online.com/noticias/sociedade/mulheres_sao_pilar_das_comunidades_na_diaspora_afirma_investigadora_portuguesa/ (accessed 11/11/2008).

¹⁰¹ According to <http://www.madrugada-cigana.com/amucip.htm> (accessed 11/11/2008).

Roma community and, as a consequence, to the promotion of gender equality in that community”.¹⁰²



Caption: Activities organised by AMUCIP; AMUCIP’s headquarters.

The aim of this project was to enhance the social cohesion and relationships between Roma and non-Roma people in Portugal, with a focus on four strands – conciliation of family and professional and educational life; paid work; empowerment and training; and citizenship.¹⁰³

In 2006, AMUCIP edited the book *Tomar a Palavra*, which collected Roma women’s perspectives about work and family life. In 2007, AMUCIP was awarded with the national prize “Equality in Diversity”, an initiative of the Portuguese Government to signal the European Year of Equal Opportunities.



Caption: Image from the book *Tomar a Palavra*, launched by AMUCUP in 2006; AMUCIP’s president, Olga Mariano (at the centre) receives the national prize “Equality in Diversity” by the representatives of the Portuguese Government.

In 2008, Olga Mariano was one of the women chosen by Amnesty International – Portugal to be included in the exhibition “Activist Women”, an event which celebrated the 26th anniversary of

¹⁰² Online publication available at <http://www.ciga-nos.pt/UserFiles/Files/guia.pdf> (accessed 12/12/2008).

¹⁰³ According to <http://www.ciga-nos.pt/Default.aspx?tabindex=1&tabid=21&mid=69&ItemID=163> (accessed 12/12/2008).

the Portuguese branch of Amnesty International. This exhibition highlighted Olga's life story and struggle for the recognition of Roma's rights in Portugal, with a particular emphasis on Roma women.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ According to http://www.amnistia-internacional.pt/index.php?Itemid=79&id=380&option=com_content&task=view (accessed 12/12/2008).

3.7. Key Areas of Intimate Citizenship – Partnership, Reproductive Rights and Parenting, Sexuality: Identities and Practices, and Gender and Sexual Violence

Partnership¹⁰⁵

Most of the issues identified by WP6 in relation to partnership have not been at the centre of women's organisations' claims and strategies in Portugal. One exception in this regard is a concern with financial autonomy and selfhood, articulated with a central concern about work and family balance. This concern is often framed as the need to create conditions for women to enjoy their overlapping roles as professionals, mothers and spouses. Thus, this claim is not addressing men and their need to engage in work/family balance issues themselves. Moreover, it does not explicitly aim at challenging traditional gender roles, by subverting what is socially expected from women and men or expanding heteronormative assumptions about 'the family', and it does not invest clearly in the need to combat sexist discrimination. Instead, its basic premise is that women have accumulated responsibilities in the spheres of both employment and family, and that it should be possible for women to do both with less distress. The Time Bank initiative, created by Graal since 2001, aimed at fulfilling this aim, creating a database with time slots in which people would voluntarily donate time to help others. Tasks listed in Graal's website had a particular focus on care, namely children's care (e.g. baby sitting, collecting children from school and helping with their homework), housework (e.g., dishwashing, shopping for groceries, dusting, ironing) and au-pair work (e.g., accompanying someone to a medical appointment or the movies).¹⁰⁶ Therefore, these initiatives were not directly linked to partnership.

More recently, there seems to be a shift in the way women's organisations engage with topics of same-sex partnership. In contrast with previous debates about the legal recognition of (same-sex and different-sex) cohabitation (1997-2001), which did not obtain any support from women's

¹⁰⁵ For the purposes of the current report, issues included in the sphere of partnership are marriage; divorce; non-marital heterosexual relationships – cohabitation; same-sex relationship/ partnership recognition; Selfhood, financial autonomy, independence within relationships; immigration and partnership, family reunion etc; non-monogamy/ polyamory; single people and solo living; and “care” and partnership.

¹⁰⁶ More information available at <http://www.graal.org.pt/projectos/BdT/bancodetempo.htm> (accessed 08/12/2008).

organisations, after 2005 the issue of same-sex marriage slowly started to enter the realm of feminist organisations such as UMAR, which has organised direct action initiatives such as a flashmob in October 2008. In 2008, the queer feminist organisation NTP launched their campaign promoting the visibility of same-sex couples during Valentine's Day:



The caption reads: Boyfriends' Day and Girlfriends' Day, respectively. This campaign gained national media coverage and local visibility in the city of Coimbra.¹⁰⁷

In general, women's organisations are not particularly positive about a further topic – non-monogamy. In 2008, several LGBT organisations suggested that polyamory might be a visible aspect of the Annual LGBT March in Porto. During the preparation meetings, it became evident that UMAR was uncomfortable with that stance, leading it to abandon the organisation of the 2008 LGBT March in that city.

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Reproductive rights and parenting have been key areas for feminist collective action in Portugal, with a particular focus on contraception (late 1970s) and abortion (1980s, 1990s and 2000s).

Contraception and abortion

Contraception was the major topic in the women's movement during the late 1970s/early 1980s, often in conjunction with abortion rights. In 1975, the MCALG – Movement for Free Contraception and Abortion – was created. This demanded:

¹⁰⁷ More about this at http://naoteprives.blogspot.com/2008_02_01_archive.html (accessed 19/06/2008).

The abolition of the fascist abortion law; free contraception and abortion; distribution of contraceptives in schools, boroughs, factories and rural areas; sex information free from all pseudo-moralist notions; no to exclusively therapeutic abortion decided by medical doctors” (cit in Tavares, 2000: 46; my translation).

The language of freedom and choice was central to Portuguese pro-choice activists during the 1970s, as discussed previously in this report.¹⁰⁸

In 1979, there were two court cases about abortion. The first targeted the journalist Maria Antónia Palla, accused of inciting a crime after her 1976 report on clandestine abortion was aired on a public TV channel. The second court case targeted Conceição Massano, a young woman accused of having an abortion. These two cases galvanised collective support, including demonstrations, petitions signed by thousands of people, public statements and interventions in Parliament (Tavares, 2000). The National Campaign for Abortion and Contraception (CNAC) was created during this time, gathering together several women’s groups, including GAMP (Autonomous Oporto Women’s Group), Women’s Group of the Academic Association of Coimbra, MLM and UMAR, as well as left-wing political parties (LCI, later PSR; UDP). The campaign called for free contraception, sex education in schools, and abortion rights. One of its central demands was “Contraception to avoid abortion, abortion to avoid death”. In 1979 CNAC organised the petition “We had an abortion”, signed by more than 2,000 women who publicly declared they had had an abortion at least once (Peniche, 2007). During this same year, abortion was reported as the third reason for maternal death in the country.¹⁰⁹ The issue waned after 1984 with the approval of laws on sex education (law n. 3/84) and legal exceptions allowing some abortions (law n. 6/84).

It would take yet another decade for women to begin mobilising again around abortion rights, demanding legal change. In 1990, MODAP – Opinion Movement for the Decriminalisation of Abortion in Portugal – was created. It gathered several groups and organisations, such as the National Department of Socialist Women, the Women’s Department of the General Union of Workers (UGT, a major coalition of trade unions) and the Communist Women’s Organisation, the women’s NGOs UMAR and MDM, the Family Planning Association (APF) and the southern

¹⁰⁸ Please refer to section 3.2. in this report, about strategies and demands.

¹⁰⁹ Published in *Mulher D’Abril*, May 1979 Available at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/10601029.PDF> (accessed 10/10/2008).

trade union of medical doctors, amongst others. During the 1990s, these organised several pro-choice initiatives, including debates, press conferences (1995 and 1997), demonstrations (1997) and petitions (1997).¹¹⁰

A major turning point occurred in 1998, after a law decriminalising abortion was approved in Parliament. Based on anti-choice personal convictions, the socialist Prime Minister Guterres agreed with the second major party that this law, despite having been approved, would have to go through a referendum – the first referendum in Portugal. The 1998 abortion referendum campaign was a crucial moment of feminist collective action, organised in one major movement called Yes For Tolerance.¹¹¹ The idea behind this name was to present those who were against choice as intolerant, including the Catholic Church, which constituted the biggest challenge to pro-choice activists. There were many public interventions of priests and bishops calling for moral damnation of any believer in favour of legal change. The 1998 campaign focused on health and the right to chose. According to Peniche:

The Yes for Tolerance campaign was unable to overcome the fears raised by the intimidating discourse that characterised the No campaign [...]. The absence of theoretical feminist references in the Yes for Tolerance discourse and the choice of a non-aggressive tactic towards the No movements resulted in the Yes movements being unable to include the many reasons why people could mobilise to vote Yes (2007: 40; my translation).

Some of the initiatives during the 1998 campaign included UMAR's helpline SOS-Abortion; a press conference about illegal abortion after a woman died (1997)¹¹²; and launching publications about abortion and contraception.¹¹³

Feminist mobilisation vanished after the results of the referendum, which presented a small turn out and a tight victory for the conservative forces. Then, in 2001 the first court case with women accused of an illegal abortion started in Maia (Northern Portugal). Seventeen women and one nurse were interrogated, and feminist organisations demonstrated their support for women and

¹¹⁰ In 1994, they organized a seminar called “Ten years after – the situation of abortion in Portugal”.

¹¹¹ Created during the campaign for the 1998 referendum on abortion, this group gathered academics, grassroots activists, doctors, artists, students, intellectuals and politicians who were pro-choice. It had branches in different cities.

¹¹² The woman who died after an illegal abortion was Lisete Moreira. She dies on the International Women's Day (8 March) in 1997, some days after the Parliament failed a law proposal that aimed at decriminalising abortion.

¹¹³ For instance, the book *Historia do movimento pelo aborto e contracepcao em Portugal*, by UMAR (1998).

their indignation against the law outside and inside the court. During this time MODAP had been replaced by another pro-choice network – the Platform Right to Choose (Tavares, 2000). It gathered individual and collective members fighting for abortion rights in Portugal. The Platform achieved great visibility during this first court case.. The Platform organized an international petition gathering more than one thousand signatures from 40 countries, and 1200 signatures nationally.

Several similar court cases followed 2001, such as Aveiro (in 2003) and Setúbal (in 2005). Again, women's organisations demonstrated, together with political parties, and the media covered the events extensively.¹¹⁴

In 2004, another event triggered an unmatched feminist collective action. In August 2004, four Portuguese organizations invited Women on Waves to Portugal. This campaign was called 'Making Waves' and it had two major aims: first, to help women who wanted to have an abortion, to do it legally and safely; second, to re-launch the political and social debate about the need to change the abortion law in Portugal. The language used during this campaign articulated women's health issues as well as the right of choice. It was not an apologetic campaign; instead, it demanded the recognition of women's rights and it represented Portuguese laws as absurd and obsolete. Unique measures introduced by the Portuguese state at the time – which forbid the ship from entering harbour, guarded by two war ships from the Portuguese navy – made it impossible to fulfil objective 1, but they also helped objective 2 to be overwhelmingly achieved. As Peniche points out, "one of the aims they [Women on Waves], together with the Portuguese organisations, had set themselves as a target, was achieved: to discuss the abortion issue and to put it back into the political agenda of the country" (2007: 42). The issue of illegal abortion, forgotten for a while, has never left the political debate ever since, leading to the second referendum in 2007. The media apparatus set up then was unique and it was the most successful initiative on this issue organised by civil society. It generated several parallel initiatives and widespread debate (Alves

¹¹⁴ Press releases issued by UMAR during this period are available at <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/comunicados/fichas/maiajaneiro02.html>, <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/comunicados/fichas/abordireitojulgar.html>, <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/comunicados/fichas/lisboajunho02.html> and <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/comunicados/fichas/portojunho02.html> (accessed 14/12/2008).

et al, 2009; Duarte, 2007; Mendes, 2004). Another important outcome of this campaign was the creation of Doctors for Choice, an organization that played a key role in the 2007 referendum.¹¹⁵

Then, in 2007, there was the second abortion referendum, the campaign for which had started the previous year.¹¹⁶ Feminist organisations' strategy was different from that of 1998. This time, the focus was not on women's choice or bodies, but on the consequences of maintaining a restrictive law, with a particular emphasis on court cases, shame, imprisonment and unsafe illegal abortion. The images used during this campaign illustrate this discursive shift:



Commenting on this 2007 campaign, Whitten writes that:

Victims became icons of the referendum, their narratives strategically inserted into campaign arguments and advertisements. The woman depicted in the Portuguese campaign leading up to the 1998 referendum had her stomach marked with slogans like 'I own my own belly.' In the 2007 campaign, she was replaced by a young woman behind bars. (2008: 14)

There were several appeals for moderation during the campaign, for a tone more consensual and less aggressive. Sentences such as "In my own belly, I rule!" were repressed and considered harmful to the overall common goal – a pro-choice victory on the 11 February 2007. Whitten (2008) describes the context of one early meeting of the 2007 Campaign in which the language issue was debated. She says:

Activists from all over the country and from multiple organizations were in attendance. Celina remembers the meeting erupting into debates: "one of the main worries was already what speech are we going to use and I recall we had a huge fight" (personal interview, 2007). Celina argued that abortion was about women, so the

¹¹⁵ More information available at Women On Waves (2004) and <http://www.womenonwaves.org/set-210-en.html> (accessed 08/04/2008).

¹¹⁶ For an extensive overview of the 2007 referendum, see Alves *et al* 2009 and Freire (Ed), 2008.

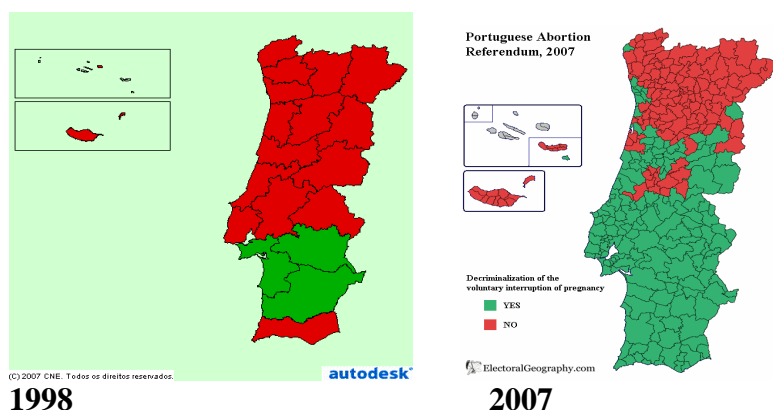
campaign needed feminist language such as the right to choose. Other attendees adamantly rejected this proposal, worrying that voters would turn against a campaign that utilized a feminist approach. They favoured using two other arguments: women being imprisoned for having abortions, and clandestine abortion as an issue of public health. [...] Attendants of the meeting decided that women in jail would be the primary argument (Whitten, 2008: 3).

Therefore, overall it was a mild campaign, less focused on women's rights as a principle than on the necessity to stop illegal abortion, to prevent imprisonment and to reduce unnecessary health problems (Alves *et al*, 2009). Despite being an apologetic campaign that presented women as victims rather than empowered subjects, the campaign was the result of particular intentions and choices on the part of women's pro-choice groups (Whitten, 2008).

There was also a strong emphasis on diversifying the groups involved, the allies, campaign outlets and initiatives. Initiatives included international lobbying, seminars, direct action, demonstrations, pro-choice auctions, disseminating information, launching and promoting books. Allies ranged from pro-choice Catholics to pro-choice doctors, intellectuals, singers, actors, etc. There was a greater investment in combating abstention, and one main strategy was to mobilise young people to vote.

The comparative results of the 1998 and the 2007 abortion referendums illustrate what had changed in less than a decade:

Results of the abortion referendums: (red for anti-choice; green for pro-choice)¹¹⁷



¹¹⁷ Images available at <http://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/p/portugal/portugal-referendum-on-administrative-regions-1998.html> and <http://www.electoralgeography.com/new/en/countries/p/portugal/portugal-abortion-referendum-2007.html> (accessed 15/12/2008).

Despite the legal victory, which overturned decades of restrictive abortion laws in Portugal, the women's movement's work on abortion is not seen as being over. There is still much investment required in terms of raising awareness, providing information, assessing how the law is being applied, and changing common perceptions about women's rights to their own bodies, reproductive and sexual lives.

Reproductive technologies, parenting and care

In the sphere of reproductive technologies, women's organisations were silent when the law on assisted conception excluding single and lesbian cohabiting women passed in Parliament (2006).¹¹⁸ One possible explanation is the fact that the law was interpreted as excluding lesbian women, rather than single (i.e. non-married) women in general, because heterosexual cohabiting women were not banned. This also illustrates the fragile relationship between LGBT and women's organisations, a topic to which I will return. The adoption law, approved in Parliament in 2003, further illustrates my argument. It excluded same-sex couples from adopting children. Once again, women's organisations did not contest this law. Therefore, the issue of lesbian reproduction and parenting remains largely absent from feminist concerns in Portugal, with the exception of LGBT feminist organisations, as I address in the last section of this report.

During the 1970s, childcare was an issue, namely with women's organisations demanded more nurseries and kinder gardens. For example, the document drafted during the first meeting of MDM, in 1973, included amongst their main demands social services such as nurseries and laundries, as well as maternity leave of 14 weeks and free health care in birth giving.

Motherhood often comes alongside the abortion debate, framed as the need to enhance the access to wanted and responsible motherhood. For instance, the 1970s saw the creation of the Women's Commission for Legalising Abortion and in Defence of a Responsible Motherhood.

According to the organisers of the 2008 Feminist Congress, one important area of women's struggle in Portugal was the respect for rights attached to motherhood, particularly among

¹¹⁸ Law n. 32/2006 available at http://www.apf.pt/cms/files/conteudos/file/lei%2032_2006_PMA.pdf (accessed 14/12/2008).

working class and middle class jobs (academia and business). No more information was provided about this issue.¹¹⁹

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

Women's sexual pleasure

The right of women to take pleasure in their own bodies was at the centre of the book *New Portuguese Letters*, published in 1972. As explained previously in this report, this book triggered a court case against its authors (famous as the “Three Marias”) and that worked as a catalyst for feminist collective action.

In 1975, the organisation MLM published a leaflet emphasising women's right to own and enjoy their bodies:

Let us refuse the myths to which we have been attached, imprisoned for centuries and centuries! Let us look at our own bodies with no shame. [...] Let us demand the right to our own body, to our own sexuality (cit in Tavares, 2003a: 18; my translation).

The regulation of sexual practice

In 2008 UMAR organised two workshops, with invited speakers (researchers and activists), on the topics of prostitution (23 February) and trafficking (12 April). The idea was to provide different perspectives about contentious issues, with speakers who were pro and anti-legalisation on prostitution, as well as speakers who conflated or distinguished prostitution and trafficking. According to Tavares (2006):

As a feminist, I think prostitution is based on a secular system of sexual dominance of men over women and it enhances gender inequalities. [...] However, the abolitionist perspectives [...] are detached from current reality. By emphasising women's victimisation, when many of them might want to remain in that way of life, the consequence is that no rights are given to women who are in the business. This leads to accepting that there are women who are marginalised, stigmatised, who lack any rights, and this is not in accordance to a feminist perspective of defending rights for all women. To take a moralist stance of ‘showing the way’ to others does not combine either with individual freedom [...]. Therefore, I position myself alongside the need

¹¹⁹ Available at http://congressofeminista2008.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=1 (accessed 18/02/2008).

for measures that ascribe rights to those who live as prostitutes, but so that the business is not promoted through the legalisation of brothels or the identification of specific local areas that would cause further stigmatisation or even a state control over prostitutes. Those who chose this activity should have rights that allow them wider autonomy, to avoid pimping and rules in relation to clients. Those who chose to abandon the activity, should have the conditions to do so. At the same time, the combat against trafficking and forced prostitution should be reinforced by governments, dismantling criminal networks that operate in this field. (Tavares, 2006: 8; my translation).

Ana Lopes has been pushing for a discursive change, replacing ‘prostitute’ with ‘sex worker’. While she was finishing her PhD at the University of East London, UK, she created the International Union of Sex Workers.¹²⁰ In 2005, Lopes and Alexandra Oliveira organised a meeting to discuss sex workers’ rights in Portugal. Lopes published a book in Portugal in 2006, triggering visibility to the topic of sex work as a political and discursive alternative to the debate on prostitution (Lopes, 2006).¹²¹ However, this discursive shift is still highly controversial within the women’s movement.

An opposing view to both Tavares and Lopes is provided by the anti-prostitution organisation Ninho, which was created in 1967.¹²² This organisation is against legalising prostitution. In 2003, they argued:

To legalise prostitution is to attribute to men a legitimate power to buy sex from other human beings. It is to legitimate prostitution as a system of domination through normalising the mercantilisation of sex and bodies. To focus exclusively in the fight against trafficking is to fail to understand that pimping is inherent to prostitution and that we cannot conceive prostitution as an individual act of a person that rents her/his sex for money, but rather as an economic, social and political system which renders children, youth, women and men prisoners of an ubiquitous, cruel and exploitative system [my translation].¹²³

This perspective is shared by other women who are publicly engaged in feminism, such as Ana Vicente, former president of CIDM, who wrote in 1998:

¹²⁰ More information available at <http://www.iusw.org/> (accessed 16/12/2008).

¹²¹ More information about this at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/20302014.PDF> (accessed 10/10/2008).

¹²² More information available at <http://www.oninho.pt/> (accessed 24/04/2008).

¹²³ Paper by Ines Fontinha, October 2003, available at http://www.pcp.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5274&Itemid=195 (accessed 24/04/2008).

There is even a certain tendency, amongst some politicians and journalists, to consider prostitution as any other type of job that should, therefore, be included in the labour code. I suspect they have not yet considered the issue of professional training, maybe using funding from the European Commission, in order to enhance the skills of the candidates, and I would not expect them to encourage their daughters in pursuing this 'career'. (Vicente, 1998: 168).

As previously mentioned, most women's organisations do not have an official stance on prostitution. Instead, the few which have addressed the topic prefer to raise it as a point of departure for an ongoing debate, rather than issuing a formal statement.

Lesbianism, lesbian rights and recognition

Lesbianism has not been a central issue for women's collective action in Portugal (Santos, 2007; Pena *et al*, 2008). On the contrary, in the past lesbian feminists within the women's movement were considered harmful to it. Feminist leaders did not want to be mistaken for lesbians (Cardoso, 2007; Pena *et al*, 2008). Lesbians' claims, such as same-sex parenthood and relationship recognition, were not part of the women's movement's concerns. In fact, women's organisations did not openly support *de facto* unions in 2001 and they did not repudiate the exclusion of single and/or lesbian women from the assisted conception law in 2006.

Women's organisations are slowly taking on board more lesbian demands and joint work, particularly after the entry of two lesbian groups in the World March of Women, as described later.

Homosexuality and anti-discrimination

Like lesbianism, the issue of homosexuality and anti-discrimination was not at the centre of women's organisations' concerns for a long time.¹²⁴ However, this started changing after 2006, when UMAR openly supported several LGBT initiatives, including demonstrations after the murder of the transgender woman Gisberta (February 2006), and LGBT Marches (Santos, 2008). UMAR was one of the four co-organisers of the first LGBT March of Porto, in 2006.¹²⁵ In October 2008, just before the Parliament failed to pass a law about same-sex marriage, UMAR

¹²⁴ An obvious exception are the organisations which are self-defined as simultaneously feminist and queer, such as Clube Safo and Nao Te Prives.

¹²⁵ More info at <http://www.orgulhoporto.org/2006/about.html> (accessed 06/10/2008).

organised a direct action initiative in Porto, in which people ‘froze’ for equality. The initiative was called “To STOP, so that Portugal can move on”, and it consisted of individual people playing statues, at a busy time in a busy tube station, holding banners which demanded access to civil marriage.¹²⁶ In their press release, UMAR said:

During the dictatorship, primary school teachers had to have a permission from the state in order to get married. During the dictatorship, female nurses were, by law, forbidden to get married, and one of them was even arrested after disobeying that law. In 2008, the Portuguese Civil Code do not forbid teachers or nurses from getting married, but it still impedes marriage between same-sex people, despite the fact that article 13 of the Constitution establishes the elimination of discrimination based on sexual orientation. In 2008, despite the non-existence of real imprisonment, lesbians and gay men remain symbolic prisoners of an obsolete and discriminatory mentality [my translation].¹²⁷

In statements to the media after the event, UMAR’s representative Maria Jose Magalhães accused the government of a lack of courage, and of enforcing a setback for civilization by refusing to adopt an inclusive marriage law.¹²⁸ These statements highlight an important claim regarding intimate citizenship.

Pornography

Pornography is one of the most absent issues in Portuguese feminist politics. The only initiatives that could be traced are linked to the women’s section of the Left Bloc party, M.A.R.I.A.S. (Women in Radical Action For Anti-Sexist Ideals). They were involved in debates with members of the party, in which pornography was discussed. For instance, in March 2005, they participated in a debate organised by the students’ union of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Lisbon, entitled “Pornography: Industry or Problem?”. In this debate there were five invited speakers: two representatives of the right-wing party PP, two representatives of the left-wing party BE and one representative of the AIDS organisation Abraço.¹²⁹ In July 2005,

¹²⁶ More about this action at <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/abortodireitos/actividades/pararportugalaavancar.html> and http://cuscasdasgajas.blogspot.com/2008/10/01_archive.html (accessed 15/12/2008).

¹²⁷ Press release available at <http://cuscasdasgajas.blogspot.com/2008/10/nota-de-imprensa-da-aco-da-umar-no.html> (accessed 15/12/2008).

¹²⁸ As reported at http://sol.sapo.pt/PaginaInicial/Sociedade/Interior.aspx?content_id=112454 (accessed 15/12/2008).

¹²⁹ Available at <http://mulheresmaria.blogspot.com/2005/03/debate-sobre-pornografia.html> (accessed 19/01/2009).

during a youth camp, they organised a movie screening followed by discussion about pornography.¹³⁰

Sex education

Sex education has been a central theme of the Family Planning Association (APF).¹³¹ Between 2000 and 2005 APF had an agreement with the Portuguese state about providing sex education in schools. Sex education has always been a demand of the LGBT movement (Santos, 2005).

Note: In the field of sexuality: identities and practices, sado-masochism has not been directly addressed by women's organisations in Portugal.

Gender and Sexual Violence

Domestic/ Intimate partner violence

Alongside abortion, violence against women, particularly domestic or intimate partner violence, has been a central issue for women's organisations in Portugal. It started in the 1970s and the 1980s, with concerns about violence against women. In 1980, Portugal was one of the first states to ratify the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

There was a major boost for the issue during the 1990s, when women's organisations triggered a set of initiatives tackling it. These included institutional lobbying, seminars, direct action, launching books, organising a help line, an agreement with the Equality State Secretary to launch shelters; meetings with parliamentarians about domestic violence; and research and training to prevent domestic violence.¹³² One catalyst for generating social awareness seems to have been the state – at least a form of state or institutional feminism that channels state support such as financial resources, expertise, and networking. This led to a discursive shift whereby battered women were not seen merely as objects of pity, but as subjects with rights. As Pinto argues:

The widest visibility of this issue results from the fact that it has escalated into the political agenda. This largely results from the feminist struggle, but also from higher

¹³⁰ Information available at <http://mulheresmaria.blogspot.com/2005/07/acampamento-de-jovens-do-be.html> (accessed 19/01/2009).

¹³¹ For more information, see <http://www.apf.pt/?area=002> (accessed 14/12/2008).

¹³² UMAR help line Women's Solidarity (violence).

rates of awareness on the part of women who no longer accept it [violence], who denounce it and who shatter the silences that cover it. It is by enhancing this wider awareness that it will be possible to fight violence, beyond a mere charitable perspective which can only see women as victims (Pinto, 2004; my translation).

In 2007, CIG launched its 3rd National Plan Against Domestic Violence (2007-2010), whose main object was:

intervention in the fight against violence exercised directly over women, in the context of relations of intimacy, whether they be conjugal or similar, present or past. This option also includes violence exercised indirectly over children that are witnesses of situations of inter-parental violence, in what doctrine designates as vicarious violence [my translation].¹³³

Domestic violence and migrant women are intersecting topics for the Association of Women Against Violence (AMCV). In 2004, 21% of women who contacted this NGO, and 53% of the women staying in their shelters were non-Portuguese citizens. Most of them were illegal migrants originally from former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and they had to struggle with the accumulated effects of sexism and racism.¹³⁴

The topic of domestic or intimate partner violence is usually at the centre of several initiatives around two days – 8 March (International Women’s Day) and 25 November (International Day Against Gender Violence). In 2008, young people became the focus of several campaigns against gender violence, with leaflets, posters, cards and media advertisements targeting the ‘dating stage’ of a relationship. Examples include the campaign “True Love” launched by CIG¹³⁵, and the campaign “Love hurts?”, launched by the queer feminist organisation NTP, with the support of the Youth Portuguese Institute:¹³⁶

¹³³ Available at <http://195.23.38.178/cidm/portal/bo/documentos/III%20National%20Plan%20Against%20Domestic%20Violence.pdf> (accessed 15/12/2008).

¹³⁴ In *Publico*, 23/09/2005, also available at <http://www.oi.acime.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=735> (accessed 14/12/2008).

¹³⁵ More about this campaign available at <http://www.amorverdadeiro.com.pt/> (accessed 25/11/2008).

¹³⁶ More about this campaign available at <http://naoteprives.blogspot.com/2008/11/campanha-contra-violencia-de-gnero.html> (accessed 25/11/2008).



UMAR launched its own campaign in November 2008, appealing to collective responsibility and engagement in denouncing cases of domestic violence:



The poster of this Campaign Against Domestic Violence states: “Scream. Scream louder! Scream even louder! So that your neighbours will hear you and scream with you. So that all of us can scream against violence against women and spouse murder”.

In December 2008 APAV, the Portuguese Association in Support of Victims launched a campaign targeting same-sex domestic violence:



The image reads: “Scream for your rights! Domestic violence between same-sex people is a crime”. This initiative was also supported by the LGBT organisation ILGA Portugal.

Rape and sexual assault

Despite the existence of discriminatory laws, which rendered impossible the claim of rape within marriage until 2000, rape was not a widely discussed topic within the women's movement. However, in 1978, an article was published in MLM's bulletin *8 of March – a feminist magazine*, in which there was a critique of the lack of adequate punishment provided by court decisions in relation to rapists. Inadequate legal protection against rape led to women living in fear, and therefore MLM advised women take self-defence into their own hands through collective action initiatives.¹³⁷ In 1982 an article of the magazine *Mulheres*, directed by Maria Teresa Horta, tackled the issue. In this article, a judge was interviewed about the topic, after the French Criminal Court L'Isere created case law by condemning a husband for raping his wife. In this article, judge Isabel Pais Martins calls for the revision of the Penal Code that defined rape as "anyone who has illicit copulation with a woman", after a law dating from 1886.¹³⁸

In 1992 AMCV started informally offering support to women who had been raped. It was this experience that was at the root of AMCV, which was created in 1993 with a particular focus on domestic violence and children's sexual abuse.

Trafficking

In 1978, UMAR organised a demonstration against trafficking in the city of Porto. The issue faded in the women's movement until very recently, after a series of studies pushed it back onto the feminist agenda.¹³⁹ These studies drew from a document which followed the signing, in Warsaw in May 2005, of the Council of Europe Convention against Trafficking in Human Beings. This was the first international document containing a clear definition of a trafficking victim, emphasising the link to the issue of human rights. Consequently, the Portuguese government implemented measures that placed trafficking amongst the priorities of CIG. In 2007, CIG launched the 1st National Action Plan Against Trafficking In Human Beings (2007-2010), which reads:

¹³⁷ This magazine is available at

<http://cdcfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/10501027.PDF> (accessed 16/12/2008).

¹³⁸ Available at <http://cdcfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/30201012.PDF> (accessed 14/12/2008).

¹³⁹ One of these studies is available at http://www.oi.acime.gov.pt/docs/Estudos%20OI/Estudo_OI_12.pdf (accessed 15/12/2008).

The adoption of the 1st National Action Plan against Trafficking in Human Beings may be regarded as an essential tool for the sharing of responsibilities between governmental entities and civil society, in a holistic approach which allows for the adoption and gathering of different strategies and dimensions in a coordinated and effective manner. The adoption of this Action Plan, which will last for a three year period, is structured into four main strategic areas of intervention which are linked to respective operational areas, notably: To Know and Spread Information; To Prevent, Spread Awareness and Train; To Protect, Support and Integrate; To Criminally Investigate and Suppress Trafficking.¹⁴⁰

In 2008, CIG launched a national campaign against trafficking, including leaflets in different languages, a radio spot and a TV spot. Also in 2008, UMAR organised a workshop (12 April), with invited speakers (researchers and activists), about trafficking.

Homophobic/ transphobic violence

Homophobic and transphobic violence are very recent topics within Portuguese feminist collective action. However, there seems to be a growing awareness and willingness to engage in collective thought and methods to tackle both issues. For example, in 2006 UMAR supported several initiatives about the murder of the transgender woman Gisberta, including street demonstrations in Porto and Lisbon.

3.8. The Contemporary Women's Movement in Portugal – Forthcoming Issues

The reflexive debate around the future of women's collective struggle in Portugal started in 1998, when abortion seemed to be the only aggregating issue, and yet also unattainable. Maria Teresa Horta, who was one of the "Three Marias" who published in 1972 the controversial feminist book *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, argued:

I am tired of a type of feminist woman, yuppy, who wears high heels and tailor-made skirts, of this black and white feminism, with an entrepreneur briefcase, like Naomi Wolf: "They call my type of feminism, prudent and astute". Very astute, I may add, very astute. We are living in a time of female treason. We must always compliment men. I believe we are in the midst of a time of feminist demobilisation and loss of

¹⁴⁰ This document is available at <http://195.23.38.178/cidm/portal/bo/documentos/1%20National%20Action%20Plan%20Against%20Trafficking%20In%20Human%20Beings.pdf> (accessed 15/12/2008).

stamina, with a number of feminisms that oppose one another (Horta, 1998: 53; my translation).

This discourse draws from a narrative of melancholia in relation to what is regarded as the good old times of feminism, in contrast to a present time when the potential for radical feminism is somehow prisoner of state feminism.¹⁴¹

After interviewing 30 activists from women's organisations in Portugal in 2000, Tavares collected a range of areas that women regarded as absent or in need of attention on the part of the Portuguese women's movement. These included "the need to address new issues; a stronger connection to the 'real' interests of women and wider social intervention; the autonomy [of women's groups] in relation to political parties; balance between institutional action and other types of action, with a wider emphasis on voluntary work" (Tavares, 2000: 121).

In March 2004, Helena Pinto, who was then the leader of UMAR, published an article in which she identified the issues that she believed should concern the feminist struggle in future years:

In the nearest times ahead, the fight for the right to abortion will gain particular importance, but the feminist struggle is not reduced to that cause. [Other causes include] The right to citizenship in employment, the power of women within the family, in a situation of equal opportunities alongside men, fighting against the latent social and sexual contract that traps the feminine in the private sphere and the masculine in the public sphere, the right to political participation, the fight against gender violence [...] (Pinto, 2004; my translation).

Therefore, alongside other themes, there were several issues that concern intimate citizenship, namely 'the power of women within family', the private sphere and gender violence. Teresa Joaquim (2007), in a paper about feminist issues which "remained almost invisible" in Portugal, mentions the following:¹⁴²

- Sexuality (masculinity, sexual orientation)
- Reproductive rights
- Prostitution

¹⁴¹ For a critique to these readings which place in oppositional ends radical and institutional feminism, see Dean, 2008.

¹⁴² Although this paper was published only in 2007, its first draft was presented during the Feminist and Education Congress of 2004. Therefore, the author's analysis refers to 2004.

- New reproductive technologies (assisted conception)

These issues, which Joaquim identifies as absent or “almost invisible”, concern intimate citizenship. Although the exact choice of themes is debatable, particularly if we consider abortion rights as reproductive rights, the overall relative absence of intimate citizenship issues amongst feminist demands is telling about what counts as priority issues within the women’s movement in Portugal.

More recently, in an article about the history and role of the World March of Women in Portugal, Bento described “new challenges” brought about by neoliberalism and to which women must respond. These include sexual trafficking, prostitution, lesbian rights, and migrant women (Bento, 2007: 12).

The Feminist Congress, which happened in Lisbon in June 2008, aimed at identifying the forthcoming areas for feminist intervention after the abortion referendum victory. According to Magalhães:

Maybe we can now argue that, in social terms, the notion feminism stopped being an unwanted notion. Nevertheless, its true meaning is still unacknowledged, in its triple dimension as an epistemological perspective [...], as a philosophy [...] and as a perspective for creating political and activist intervention. However, the growing number of women (and men) who state their feminism in the sphere of science, literature, arts, work, politics, intervention, reveals that we are no longer ashamed or afraid to call ourselves feminist (2008: 2; my translation).

Therefore, one forthcoming issue is revamping the notion of feminism, investing in broader audiences that will embrace it as a plural notion.

According to the organisers of this Feminist Congress, in 2008 there were nine key areas of women’s discrimination in Portugal (Magalhães, 2008):

1. Access to jobs, in which young men are chosen over young women
2. The wage gap, in breach of the juridical principle of “equal work, equal pay”
3. Greater levels of poverty and unemployment among women
4. Access to leadership positions
5. Access to top positions in politics

6. Excessive workload, particularly regarding housekeeping and care
7. Respect for rights attached to motherhood, particularly among working class and middle class jobs (academia and business)
8. Unequal access to rights on the part of lesbians and subordination based on sexual orientation
9. Socialisation, due to gender stereotypes

It becomes clear, then, that intimate citizenship does not lead the way among the priorities of action for the women's movement in Portugal. In fact, out of nine areas, only three tackled issues related to intimate citizenship – housekeeping and care (area n. 6), motherhood (area n. 7) and sexual orientation (area n. 8). In the same website of the Feminist Congress, a contribution published after the event identified some of the missing areas as being feminism in the global south, the role of feminist men and disabled women.¹⁴³

During April 2008, I held a conversation with a feminist activist. She argued that we cannot study feminism through organisations, because these tend to be too enclosed, too static, relying always on the same people who remain within the same organisations throughout their lives. She said she did not feel excited by the Feminist Congress or the topics covered, neither as an activist nor as an academic. When I asked her which new feminist topic she felt was (or should be) important for Portuguese feminism she immediately answered “assisted conception”, because, she claimed, it was absurd that the same government that allowed her to have an abortion (2007) took away women's rights to have a child alone (2006). She also argued that the government was encouraging promiscuous sex by denying the possibility of single women accessing IVF and other assisted conception facilities. She also said she had mentioned this topic in several occasions among other, older feminists, but that none of them seemed passionate about it.

According to Tavares, a forthcoming feminist agenda must necessarily be linked to other social movements, “enmeshing, influencing, renewing political interventions and creating new social, cultural and political perspectives” (Tavares, 2010: 361). This is particularly significant in a context in which legal change has not been sufficiently accompanied by cultural shifts.

¹⁴³ Paper available at http://congressofeminista2008.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=39&Itemid=42 (accessed 09/12/2008).

3.9. Conclusion

The history of women's collective action in Portugal highlights tensions between visibility and oppression, recognition and silence, pro-action and (diluted) reaction. One striking feature of the women's movement in Portugal is its general lack of engagement with issues of intimate citizenship. The emphasis seems to be on political and economic citizenship (FEMCIT WPs 1 and 3), with much discussion about quotas for women in political parties, the salary gap and equal pay, and work/family balance. In contrast, whenever there has been social contention about marriage, cohabitation, adoption or assisted conception, the women's movement either remains silent or reacts only after a push from the LGBT movement by issuing a press release or joining a demonstration. These latter forms of engagement are very recent, and do not reflect the wider tendencies within the women's movement in Portugal. Based on the material collected, my analysis suggests several intersecting factors that account for this subaltern position of issues concerning intimate citizenship.

Dictatorship

As argued throughout this report, during the political dictatorship, from 1926 until 1974, women's rights were suppressed and collective action prohibited. According to Amâncio (1998), factors influencing Portuguese feminism during the 1970s included a lack of reflexive political debate and the intellectual isolation of the country from the rest of the world. Dictatorship also severely hampered the development of social sciences, leading to the late development of gender studies (Oliveira *et al*, 2008). As Kaplan argues,

Portugal had developed a tradition of silence. Finding a voice, be it expressed in literature, in politics, in social concerns or in women's issues, is a formative process that cannot be completed overnight. The 1974 revolution was the start to overcoming the *fado* (fatalism), the *saudade* (yearning) and the much cultivated art of *paciência* (patience) (1992: 190).

The process of legal change after the revolution

Soon after the end of the dictatorship, a fundamental principle of the new Constitution of 1976 was equality regardless of sex, race, language, place of birth, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation or social condition. Thus, the Constitution – the most

important legal document by which all laws must abide – established that women and men had equal rights and duties in Portuguese society. The Constitution also stated that fatherhood and motherhood were important social values that should be legally protected. This focus on equality granted the new Constitution its reputation as one of the most progressive legal provisions in all Europe (Kaplan, 1992: 185). In 1976, there were also other laws regarding women's rights that reinforced the right to privacy¹⁴⁴, the protection of motherhood and family planning.¹⁴⁵ Likewise, the new civil code in 1977 addressed the issue of equality between spouses, and in its revision in 1978 the power of the husband and the father were discarded and the figure of “head of family” was extinguished. It was also in 1977 that divorce was made available for those who had had a Catholic wedding ceremony.

These changes were part of a wider process of legal transformation in Portuguese society in the aftermath of the revolution. As such, they did not result from extensive lobbying or direct campaigning by Portuguese women's organisations, although women were very active inside trade unions and political parties that enacted these changes. The granting of formal equality to women after the revolution resulted from ‘top-down’ state decisions, rather from the ‘bottom-up’ impact of social movements. The former EEC, which Portugal joined in 1986, carried on this ‘top-down’ trend of formal equality (Oliveira *et al*, 2008).

This ‘top-down’ legal equality can be seen as the product of wider processes of modernisation and democratisation, which should not be interpreted as being detached from the influence of women's demands and achievements in other countries, particularly France, the UK and the US. The fact that equality between women and men was regarded as constitutive of a modern and democratic state highlights feminist's achievements over the years. Furthermore, as I argued previously, several Portuguese feminist activists had lived abroad, during the dictatorship, or engaged in trans-national coalition activities with women worldwide, thus benefiting from the emerging state of feminism elsewhere. Moreover, Portuguese feminism today is still engaged in several international coalitions and networks, of which the World March of Women is an example.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, in relation to personal correspondence, which could be opened by husbands without women's permission during dictatorship.

¹⁴⁵ Namely, Law-decree n. 474/76, 16 June about personal correspondence, Law-decree n. 112/76 about maternity leave and SES decision dating 16/03/1976 creating family planning medical appointments in health centres.

Disconnection between told legal stories and lived lives

Formal equality had been achieved swiftly and almost effortlessly. Apart from legal change, there was not a collective investment in social change, such as consciousness-raising work or the development of women's/gender studies. As a result, the disconnection between formal law and the lived experiences of women soon became apparent:

The interviews of feminist activists involved in these struggles conducted by Manuela Tavares (2000), show this very clearly. While they acknowledge the importance of the legal recognition of women's rights, some of them stress their lack of implementation in the social practices and even the resistance of men to those changes. These difficulties were strengthened with the invisibility or insufficient media coverage of women's claims. This shows the obstacles the Portuguese feminist movement faced in becoming visible and relevant in the public sphere (Oliveira *et al*, 2008).

This disconnection will be explored further in the Strand 3 report of FEMCIT WP 6.

In search of a (feminist) thread

In the 1980s, there was an initial mobilisation of women's organisations around reproductive and sexual rights, namely sex education, maternity and paternity rights, free contraceptives and abortion rights. This push resulted in several important laws, such as Law n. 3/84 on sex education and family planning, Law n. 4/84 – Protection of maternity and paternity and Law n. 6/84 creating four exceptions to the prohibition of abortion. However, after these legal changes, this initial impulse of women's collective action vanished. Abortion set the limit for women's intervention in intimate citizenship, and in light of the impossibility of gathering enough political and social support for a less restrictive abortion law, issues of intimate citizenship soon lost ground.

After this moment, women's organisations engaged in multiple activities, most of which related to economic citizenship, namely professional training workshops with unemployed women, information about cooperatives and micro-credit, denouncing sexual harassment, bad working conditions and breaches of workers' rights.

The absence of an aggregate struggle or aim also contributed “to create a diffused consciousness of women's rights and of the importance of equality between the sexes in a democratic society. These issues were somewhat dismissed as unimportant” (Oliveira *et al*, 2008).

The institutionalisation of women's organisations – the EU appeal

Parallel to this, the institutionalisation of women's organisations, which compromises their autonomy by becoming too dependent on the state and political parties, also contributed to the current situation of Portuguese feminism. In fact, the lack of available resources has resulted in a specialisation of women's organisations on issues such as parity, work/family balance and gender mainstreaming (Perista and Silva, 2006), topics which were largely imposed by the EU agenda and thus gathered general acceptance amongst political decision-makers who had the power to fund these organisations.

Signs of change

However, there are signs of change that include a growing public interest in women's issues, as well as some initiatives within academia regarding women's studies (Amâncio, 1998; Ferreira, 2001; Nogueira and Neves, 2001; Pereira, 2008; Pereira and Joaquim, 2009; Tavares, 2010). In relation to the latter, Amâncio (2003) explains its formal absence in terms of a combination of factors. These include the high rates of women's illiteracy, the invisibility of women's organisations during the 1970s, and the recent status of Portuguese social sciences in general, which resulted in an absence of analytical and conceptual tools to address gender and sexuality. In the late 1990s, the first referendum on abortion created unprecedented feminist visibility. But feminism lacked the analytical and conceptual framework in which to engage with a new generation of activists demanding social change. This event triggered political debate at several levels, including within the media, academia, Parliament, NGOs and schools. After 1998, the succession of events in relation to abortion rights – namely the 2004 Making Waves campaign and the 2007 referendum – kept up the pressure for the development of feminist ideas and action, pushing the boundaries of what had been previously instigated by state-based forms of feminism. However, I am not arguing that state-based feminism was, *per se*, non-radical. On the contrary, if we retain an understanding of the signifier 'radical' as an imaginative political twist to a prevailing order (Dean, 2008), there were several organisations which remained at the cutting edge of radical feminist politics without abandoning their role within state-based commissions.

In this contentious space of institutionalisation and radical action inhabited by Portuguese feminist organisations, many intimate citizenship issues remain largely untouched by feminist

action, such as cohabitation, assisted conception for single women and lesbians, and adoption by lesbian couples. Other issues that have triggered passionate debates in other European women's movement, such as pornography, remain absent from feminist collective debate. Others, such as prostitution or (non-)monogamy, have only recently started to be addressed, after the initiative of one or two women's groups or organisations. The two most important topics for feminist collective action in Portugal – abortion and gender violence – cut across the fields of intimate and sexual citizenship. Although these have been fundamental areas of collective action, they are indeed the only two examples of significant feminist engagement with issues of intimate citizenship. Other themes, such as divorce, solo living or reproductive technologies remain absent.

Part II: Intimate Citizenship and Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change in Portugal

3.10. Black/ Minority Ethnic/ Anti-Racist Organisations

Most migrant, minority ethnic and anti-racist organisations in Portugal do not have women's groups and their focus is not on women's issues. These are only addressed on a sporadic basis, namely in the context of a seminar or a celebration. For example, the Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude", was one of the organisations which supported the World March of Women in Portugal. However, women's claims in respect to intimate citizenship remain largely invisible within these organisations. For this reason, in this section I am considering positive examples of engagement with women's issues in general, with a particular focus on issues of equality and discrimination.

Migrant Women's Association

Created in 1993, the Migrant Women's Association aimed at "promoting professional, social and family equality; fighting against xenophobic ideals and movements; organising training workshops promoting professional development and a wider participation of women in the labour market; and suggesting measures to enhance the living conditions and interests of migrant women and their families".¹⁴⁶ Although its main focus has been Portuguese women who have emigrated, this organisation has been involved in activities that address both immigrant and emigrant women.¹⁴⁷ For instance, in 2002 they organised a Colloquium about "Social problems of the new immigration" in which they addressed equality and the right to family reunion for immigrant women in Portuguese society, an important issue of intimate citizenship. In 2003, they co-organised, with CIDM, a seminar called "Migrant Women – two sides of one reality" (CIDM, 2005) and in 2004 they organised another colloquium about "Migrant women of various generations – issues for today, which perspectives?", with papers tackling issues of migration and

¹⁴⁶ More information available at <http://mulhermigrante.org/historia.html> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁴⁷ Particularly after they returned to Portugal, in respect to issues of pension schemes, saving accounts and other financial and bureaucratic matters (<http://www.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=663>, access 11/12/2008)

prostitution and the feminisation of migration patterns. There seems to have been a shift after 2005, with a greater concern with equality as a central theme and institutional efforts to organise events on this theme with Portuguese emigrants living abroad. As a result, there was a series of meetings called “Meetings for Citizenship – equality between men and women in Portuguese communities”, sponsored by the Portuguese government and co-organised by several NGOs, including the Migrant Women’s Association, the Portuguese Network of Young People for Gender Equality (REDE) and the Open University. In 2007, the Migrant Women’s Association was involved in the preparation of a colloquium about “Discrimination... against women, still?”. This event, which focused on the theme of equal opportunities between women and men, was also co-organised by the Family Planning Association, Portuguese Association Women and Sports, Portuguese Association of Women Entrepreneurs and the Women’s Democratic Movement. The Migrant Women’s Association became members of the consultants’ council of CIDM in 1993 and have 211 members, 73 of whom live abroad (as reported in 2004).¹⁴⁸

Immigrant Solidarity

Another organisation which has engaged with women’s issues is Immigrant Solidarity, one of the organisations which supported the World March of Women in 2005. According to their 2007 activities report, they have been involved in several projects targeting immigrant women’s specific issues and needs.¹⁴⁹ For example, in 2006 they launched an activity called “immigrant women and domestic work”, after an initiative by several female members. Their main aim was to study the working conditions of immigrant women who are domestic workers, to collect all relevant legislation and to draft a series of proposals in order to enhance their working conditions. They produced leaflets and papers with women’s testimonies about violence, abuse, exploitation and harassment. As a result, the women who participated decided to create a self-awareness group called Safe Hands. They meet twice a month, sharing experiences and information, and are involved in workshops and other activities. They aim at “the effective integration of these workers, as well as an effective exercise of their rights and participation in the public sphere, in

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=663> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁴⁹ More information available at <http://www.solimigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/relatorio-actividades-2007.pdf> (accessed 11/12/2008).

order to change the image of domestic work in Portugal”.¹⁵⁰ Immigrant Solidarity also provides support to immigrant women who are victims of domestic violence, thus engaging in intimate citizenship issues.

AMUCIP – Association for the Development of Portuguese Roma Women and Children

(Please refer to section 3.1. earlier on in this report)

SOS Racismo

SOS Racismo is a NGO that fights against racism in Portugal. In 2005, it launched a book called *Imigração e Etnicidade - Vivências e Trajectórias de Mulheres em Portugal* [Immigration and Ethnicity – Women’s Lives and Trajectories in Portugal] (Alvarenga *et al*, 2005). The book addressed a range of issues affecting immigrant women in Portugal, as explained in its introduction:

How many different women can a woman become when she moves through the territory of migration? Qualified worker, unqualified worker, sex worker, factory worker, house worker, waitress, shop worker, human rights’ activist in migrants’ NGOs, teacher, lawyer, documented citizen, undocumented citizen, mother. How many faiths can a woman have? Traditional religions, catholic, orthodox, Muslim, evangelic, non-religious. How many sexual orientations can a woman have? Heterosexual, bisexual, lesbian. How many nationalities, ethnic and cultural features can a woman’s body build and carry on? Roma, Slavic, Russian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Brazilian, African, Guinean, Mozambican, Angolan, Pakistani, Indian. There are many features of the feminine and they are constantly changing [my translation].¹⁵¹

Articles include surveys to local authorities, quantitative and qualitative studies about migrant women, media representations of migrant women, labour market, activism, family reunion, trafficking, domestic violence, religious minorities, genital mutilation, asylum seekers and education.

Despite the non-existence of a women’s group within SOS Racismo, this NGO has been actively supporting LGBT events such as Pride since 2000. In 2008, they co-organised the LGBT March in Lisbon.

¹⁵⁰ Available at <http://www.solimigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/relatorio-actividades-2007.pdf> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁵¹ In the Introduction to the book, by Carlos Alvarenga, also available at <http://www.oi.acime.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=726> (accessed 14/12/2008).

Other NGOs

The topic of black, minority ethnic and/or migrant women's issues has also been addressed on an irregular basis by women's organisations. For example, in 2002, CIDM organised a 2-day seminar about women and migration that gathered activists, politicians, NGO leaders and social scientists. The presentations, later published (CIDM, 2005), raised several issues that affect immigrant women in Portugal, namely obtaining a visa, prostitution and trafficking. In relation to the visa, women coming to Portugal through family reunion migration policies get a temporary permit that prevents them working, pushing them into illegal employment market. If the marriage broke up, they were also obliged to return to their country of origin, unless domestic violence caused the separation or divorce. This situation has, however, changed under the new Immigration Law, passed in July 2007, which confers autonomous residence permit to each spouse.¹⁵² Other topics identified as particularly problematic for migrant women were unemployment, women being taken advantage of by unscrupulous bosses, bi-national generations, language barriers, asylum seekers, health care (especially pregnancy, because for women who do not have a social security number, some treatments are unaffordable).

In academia, there seems to be a growing interest in biographical narrative accounts of migrant women. For instance, in 2008 Maura Cardoso Mendes finished an MA thesis about "Women in Diaspora – identity narratives of immigrant women in Portugal", at the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto. Migrants women's issues were also a main focus of the post-graduate training course "Immigration, Integration and Human Rights", organised by the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra in 2008.

Despite the lack of women's groups within migrants' NGOs, migrant women's issues require specific attention. According to the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and the Foreigner and Borders Service, there are 446,178 legal migrants in Portugal, 45% of whom are women.¹⁵³ In 2004, Clara Almeida Santos concluded in her MA thesis that migrant women are often misrepresented by the media. This is both a causal factor in, and consequence of, the way Portuguese society generally considers this group. After analysing 210 reports

¹⁵² Available at http://www.portugal.gov.pt/NR/rdonlyres/0C409C59-C2A8-4867-9E04-A0CC24580E7A/0/Lei_Imigracao.pdf (accessed 20/11/2008).

¹⁵³ As reported in *Publico*, 23/09/2005, also available at <http://www.oi.acime.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=735> (accessed 14/12/2008).

focused on migrant women published in eight newspapers, Santos concluded that most of them focused upon prostitution (124), illegal migration (50) and crime (26). This in turn generates stigma, insult and sexual harassment.¹⁵⁴

3.11. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Organisations– LGBT

Emerging in the 1990s, the LGBT movement in Portugal has centred many of its demands around issues of intimate citizenship. Most relational demands have focused on relationship recognition and parenthood, including de facto unions, access to same-sex civil marriage, adoption and assisted conception. The strategies for achieving previously defined goals have varied. In the legal and political spheres, most aims have been pursued through the mixed approach of lobbying and direct action, often deployed simultaneously by the same organisations.¹⁵⁵

The relationship between LGBT organisations and women's organisations has shifted from a period of division to a time of coalition. Cardoso describes the relationship between feminist and lesbian activists in Portugal until 2000 as “a history of secrets, fears and oppressive silences on both parts. Lesbians were always inside feminist groups and movements, but always, and exclusively, as women. [...] Lesbianism was ignored, tacitly excluded from the realm of “women's issues” in order to avoid undermining the work ahead” (2007: 13). Descriptions of the women's groups of the late 1970s are similar in relation to the internal exclusion of lesbianism: “despite the existence of some lesbian members, there seemed to be auto-censorship in place, because no one was allowed to speak about lesbianism or to express any sort of lesbian affection”.¹⁵⁶ The need to address lesbian's issues as women's issues resulted in the creation, in 1991, of the first Portuguese lesbian magazine called *Organa*, which helped initiate several meetings of small groups of women (20-40) to discuss lesbianism. In 1993, *Organa* was replaced by another group called Lilás. Over 200 women subscribed to its magazine, of the same name. In 1996 Clube Safo was born, followed by the Women's Group of ILGA Portugal in 1998.

¹⁵⁴ Thesis available at <http://www.acime.gov.pt/docs/Publicacoes/estudos/imprensa.pdf> (accessed 14/12/2008).

¹⁵⁵ Elsewhere I argue that this simultaneous deployment of both lobbying and direct action highlights a move away from the ideological split between assimilationists and radicals. The Portuguese LGBT movement, therefore, constitutes an interesting example of what I call syncretic activism (Santos, 2008), being goal-oriented and presenting a multi-layered agenda.

¹⁵⁶ http://www.ilga-portugal.pt/pdfs/onde_andaram_as_lesbicas.pdf (accessed 01/12/2008).

The turning point was 1999, after two lesbian groups joined the Portuguese Platform of the World March of Women (WMW).¹⁵⁷ Corvo recalls it was hard for lesbian voices to be heard, even within the Platform; the inclusion of these two organisations resulted in, she says, “a pressure being exerted on women’s groups, which were already part of the WMW and were forced to start debating sexual orientation and lesbian discrimination in an open and prejudice-free way. Whoever was present at those meetings of the Portuguese coordination will surely remember how difficult it was to pronounce the word lesbian, or even say it out loud” (2007: 14; my translation). Nevertheless, Corvo also acknowledges that “for the first time it was possible to see, in an explicit and generalised way, the inclusion of non discrimination based on sexual orientation in manifestos and action plans of women’s organisations and movements” (2007: 14). In October 2000, during a demonstration organised by this Platform, the first Portuguese Lesbian Manifesto was launched and disseminated. The Platform offered an unprecedented space for debate and coalition between feminism and lesbianism.¹⁵⁸

When the new Labour Code was approved, in 2003, most LGBT organisations criticised it for representing a backlash against women, in spite of containing important changes protecting against the discrimination of LGBT people in employment.¹⁵⁹ This incident reveals LGBT solidarity towards women’s demands, as they refused to uncritically accept a new law that they considered harmful to other groups, such as female workers. It is therefore a movement anchored in feminist concerns.

In 2003, the Political Intervention Group within ILGA Portugal organised a debate about “Lesbianism and Feminism: which future?”:

¹⁵⁷ These were Clube Safo and the Women’s Group of ILGA Portugal. For more about this issue, see Coelho and Pena, 2009.

¹⁵⁸ These events are reported and assessed in Clube Safo’s newsletter *Zona Livre*, n. 59, September 2007.

¹⁵⁹ The 2003 Labour Code included the possibility of expanding the working weekly hours up to 60 (what was called the flexible time model), as well as the possibility of the employer demanding information about the health situation and eventual pregnancy, of the employee. Another example of the backlash against women was the issue of sick leave: women could take up to 30 days, but only in cases of miscarriage, with exceptions considered for legal abortion. An analysis about this Code and its implications is available at http://resistir.info/portugal/codigo_jan04.html (accessed 20/01/2009).



The abstract used to disseminate the event read:

Only in the early 1990s did we witness the creation of a lesbian movement, that is, groups or collectives whose main aim is specifically to do work for Portuguese lesbians. Contrary to what has happened in a number of countries, these movements have not emerged out of the feminist movement. [...] In the last 2 or 3 years, there has been a gradual integration of lesbian groups in platforms or forums in which there are many feminist collectives (World March of Women, Platform Right to Choose, Portuguese Social Forum and the recently created Purple Network). So why don't we see feminist movements also including lesbian demands in their activity plans or aims? [...] We believe there are several objectives which are common to all women, without putting onto a second plan the specific aims of Portuguese lesbians. For instance: parity issues, [...] family models, abortion/reproductive rights, sex education, etc [my translation].¹⁶⁰

The engagement of LGBT organisations in feminist topics in the years since 2000 have become more common. There was a slow involvement on the part of LGBT organisations on the issue of abortion rights, for example – previously regarded as central to women's activism. This started during the preparation of the Making Waves campaign, in which two of the four Portuguese co-organisers were queer organisations (Clube Safo and NTP). NTP had already been active since 2003 in demonstrations against court cases where women were accused of illegal abortion, and there was a consistent presence of gay men at these demonstrations. During the Making Waves campaign, there were several dissemination activities, which were directly supported by Panteras

¹⁶⁰ Available at http://www.geocities.com/girl_ilga/noticias.htm (accessed 10/10/2008).

Rosa, a LGBT organisation based in Lisbon.¹⁶¹ Finally, in 2007, several LGBT activists launched a manifesto called LGBT Pro-Choice, which read:

The conservatism that does not allow women to decide how and when to become a mother is the same that does not recognise the right of lesbians, gay men and bisexuals to choose how and whom to love and the right of transgender people (and women in general) of deciding about their own bodies. This is the same conservatism that discriminates against and despises all forms of sexuality beyond the heterosexual one, harming freedom and the celebration of diversity! To vote YES is to contribute to the recognition of the real diversity of family models beyond the traditional heterosexual model [...]. To vote YES is to open a door for a more equal world, in which we can all make our choices in freedom! We all have the responsibility to decide about the future we desire. This time, each vote makes a difference!” [my translation].¹⁶²

The LGBT involvement in the 2007 abortion referendum campaign was visible also in demonstrations and debates, such as the one organised by Panteras Rosa in January 2007:



3.12. Men's/Fathers Organisations

There is one organisation called Parents Forever – Association for the defence of the children of separated parents. According to their website they exist “because children have the right to give their love freely to both parents – father and mother” and its main aim is “to vouchsafe to the

¹⁶¹ Images of some of these initiatives available at http://www.panterasrosa.com/html/acoespassadas_2004/acoespassadas2004_3_setembro.html (accessed 10/10/2008).

¹⁶² This document was signed by Clube Safo, não te prives - Grupo de Defesa dos Direitos Sexuais, Panteras Rosa – Frente de Combate à LesBiGayTransFobia and PortugalGay.PT. Full manifesto available at <http://portugalgay.pt/politica/portugalgay79.asp> (accessed 10/10/2008).

children and to their parents regularity, meaning and continuity of children's contact with their two parents and with the rest of the family". Although this is not a fathers' organization exclusively, the focus is on fathers: the majority of books recommended, for instance, concern fatherhood. Besides, one of their major concerns is the fact that men seldom get custody rights in cases of divorce. The organisation's founder and current president is João Mouta – a gay father who lost custody of his only child and sued the Portuguese state in the European Court of Human Rights in 1998. The organisation states that:

In 2005, 17,013 married couples were divorced in Portugal and 16,606 Regulations for the Exercise of Parental Power, were made in court, involving 34,026 men and women and 24,670 children and young people, of which 9701 were children of less than 7 years of age. In most cases (about 84%), the children were placed in the charge of the mother. In spite of Portuguese Law allowing for joint custody of the children by both parents, this option was rarely followed (in 2005 only 2,6% of cases was joint custody prescribed), which means that Portuguese judges prefer to entrust children to only one of the parents, usually the mother. In fact, due to this situation, in Portugal after separation or divorce, the father is frequently removed from effective participation in the physical, emotional and educational needs of his children. Apart from this, the father finds his relationship with his children limited to one visit every fortnight, which in no way is a normal way of life, and is not at all satisfactory. All too frequently many fathers give up this role and end up cutting the links with their children, thus making them "orphans of living parents" This is extremely dangerous situations, for the harm they cause to the children. Children have the right to be loved and educated by both parents.¹⁶³

On its website, there are several articles about the child's best interest, about the need to provide quality time with siblings and grandparents, about the notion of family, and the role of traditional families. In this regard, the article concludes that traditional families are not fundamental for the child's wellbeing – what is important is the type of personal relationship and bond developed with the child, and allowing her or him equal access to both parents. Their language is very much based in law and European policy documents, and the intimate citizenship topics they raise have to do with parenting and fatherhood. They also demand a change in the Civil Code as to replace expressions such as "paternal power" with "parental responsibility".¹⁶⁴

With the exception of Parents Forever, whose interests are linked to fatherhood, as explained, there is no fathers' movement or organisations in Portugal.

¹⁶³ Available at http://www.paisparasempre.eu/english/index_en.html. Accessed on 05/03/2008. In English.

¹⁶⁴ Available at <http://www.geocities.com/heartland/prairie/6589/>. Accessed on 05/03/2008. In Portuguese.

3.13. Disabled People's Organisations

Disabled people as subjects of intimate citizenship remain largely absent from the main issues highlighted by movements for gender and sexual equality and change in Portugal. Likewise, the intimate citizenship issues of concern to disabled people are rarely addressed within the Disabled People's Movement in Portugal. There have been a few exceptions, as I discuss below.

During the late 1980s, an internal publication of the Association of Disabled People from the Armed Forces (ADFA), *Elo*, noted that the specific situation of disabled women had been discussed at an International Forum of the World Federation of War Veterans (FMAC), of which ADFA is also a member (*Elo*, n. 151, p.5, January 1987). It summed up how issues of disability and gender and sexuality have been addressed in Portugal – mostly in discussions taking place abroad. Such a mismatch between what was happening at the local and global levels is illustrated by the fact that it was the FMAC that urged ADFA to elect a Portuguese representative for the FMAC's women's commission in 1987. The name of the person elected was announced in ADFA's bulletin as follows: "The person elected was Luísa Mesquita, *wife of our member* Dionísio Mesquita" (*Elo*, n. 152, p.7, February 1987; my italics). Such description exemplifies the subaltern position of women within this organisation during the 1980s.

There is some change in this scenario after the 1990s, in relation to the few initiatives focused on disabled women in Portugal. For example, in 1994, a publication of the Portuguese Association of Disabled People (APD), *Associação*, published an article about women and disability. Drawing from statements of six women, some of whom were disabled and others mothers of disabled children, the article emphasised that disabled women are discriminated against twice – as women and as disabled people. Their statements highlight two major problematic areas – economic citizenship and intimate citizenship. Irene Pereira, a disabled woman, said that in a society such as that of Portugal, with "a traditional way of thinking which supports a clear cut gendered division of roles", it is harder for a disabled woman to find a partner than for a disabled man. She argued this is the reason why she knows more married disabled men than married disabled women. Moreover, she added, "the women's emotional and sexual needs are seen as more obscene, whereas the men's are better understood and tolerated" (*Associação*, n. 80, p. 6). Another interviewee, Celina Sol, mentioned that disabled women are ashamed sometimes

because “men like to present their women as a perfect being; they like to show off”. She also said that a blind woman is never seen as a sexual partner, but as a child, someone in need of protection (*Associação*, n. 80, p. 7). In the same article, the president of the Braga delegation of APD, Rosa Guimarães, spoke of “castrating families” in relation to disabled women. She said that the sexual and emotional life of a disabled woman is usually less acceptable, even amongst her own family members. However, she also argued that younger disabled women are challenging this and are becoming more proactive in fulfilling their needs and expectations (*Associação*, n. 80, p.8).

In cases when disability has been the main topic of a seminar or debate that addressed issues of intimate citizenship, it has often resulted from a joint initiative of a disabled people’s organisation and a woman’s organisation around the International Women’s Day (8th March). An example of this was the one-day Conference called “Women and disability”, organised in March 1994 by the APD, together with the women’s organisation MDM. This event mapped out four major areas for future intervention. Two of these were directly related to issues of intimate citizenship: “marriage, affection and sexuality”, and “the woman and the family”. Concerning the first area, measures suggested included creating a network of support for families with disabled children (including health professionals and carers) on the topic of sexuality/affectivity; creating services providing information and guidance in the sphere of sexuality; implementing systems of personal support which grant the disabled woman the possibility of living in her own house and independent living; legislation punishing the sexual abuse and rape of disabled women; and legislation allowing abortion on request. In relation to “women and family”, measures included the creation of services supporting families with disabled members (particularly psychological and financial support); awareness campaigns to improve the integration of disabled women in their families, schools and work; and the creation of a help line in support of the families with disabled members (*Associação*, n. 81, p.4).

Another example of an initiative focused around the 8 March took place in 2002, when APD issued a press release entitled “Women with disability – forgetting is betrayal, says the poet”. In this document, APD said that disabled women were discriminated against twice – because they are women and because they are disabled people. It denounced the lack of reference to disabled women, even on the day women’s rights were celebrated:

As invisible citizens, disabled people are to be found among the poorest levels of society. It is hard for disabled men to live in a society that ignores their most fundamental human rights, but for disabled women the situation is unbearable. [...] With no access to education, employment, sexuality and motherhood, they become silent victims of all sort of abuse, which often starts in the family and then spreads to institutions. It is urgent that human rights and women's organizations start to include in their agenda and demands issues of disabled women – to make visible the invisible female citizens, to show the terrible situation of isolation and solitude in which thousands of children, youth and women live in our country. So that each one of us demands respect for their human rights and that no one can say, one day, "I'm sorry, I did not know" (*Associação*, n. 93, May 1996, p.2; my translation).

Conjoint initiatives of the women's and the disabled people's movements often result from the creation, within some disabled people's organisations, of internal women-oriented groups. That was the case with the Disabled Women's Group (GMD) of APD, which was created in 1993 (*Associação*, n. 77, p.3). As happened to other similar initiatives (in ADFA, for example), GMD struggled with a lack of human resources and women's issues ended up losing ground to the more general interests of the organisation. Nevertheless, it is within APD that the issues of intimate citizenship, particularly those of women, are most often debated. For example, in 2005 the main issue of APD's bulletin was disabled women in Portugal and their vulnerability to situations of poverty, violence and exclusion (*Associação*, n. 207, November 2005, pp. 2-5). In addition, in 2006, the same bulletin published an article about disabled women in Portugal where it read: "In the field of ethical, moral and cultural values there is still a lot to do before disabled women can live their sexuality and experience motherhood as normal things in one's life" (*Associação*, n. 211, p. 1, March 2006).

There is no record of women's organisations internally debating issues of disability, unless when this results from a joint initiative with disabled people's organisations, as mentioned earlier.

Even more absent than disabled women's issues are disabled LGBT's issues. The first group of disabled LGBT people emerged only during the 2000s in the Portuguese Association of Deaf People (APS) which formed the internal group Angels in early 2000s, targeting gay deaf people. The seminar "Different amongst different: disability and sexual orientation" was one of the very few occasions in Portugal where the main issue addressed has been the intimate citizenship of LGBT disabled people. It happened in March 2007, after a joint initiative of GRIP (a sub-group

of ILGA Portugal) and ALADI, an organisation for disabled people.¹⁶⁵ Another initiative also took place in 2007, during the Diversity Festival organised by the Commission for the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All. This initiative included seminars about religion, disability, gender, age, migration and sexual orientation.¹⁶⁶ In the seminar about sexual orientation, one of the invited speakers (António Serzedelo, president of the LGBT organisation Opus Gay) addressed the issue of double discrimination experienced by disabled people who are lesbian or gay. The seminar on disability, however, did not include any presentation addressing issues of intimate citizenship.

3.14. Health Organisations

APF – Family Planning Association

APF was created in 1967 aiming at “promoting health, education and rights in the sphere of sexuality and family planning” (<http://www.apf.pt/apf.htm>). APF has always been a key partner in women’s organisations’ demands, namely abortion, contraception and sex education. APF is a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Doctors for Choice¹⁶⁷

The idea of creating this NGO was launched during the Making Waves campaign in 2004, when a group of doctors – including Vasco Freire and Maria José Alves – engaged in a lively discussion during a reproductive rights and health workshop. Doctors for Choice was formally launched in 2006, in preparation for the 2007 abortion referendum campaign. Their members are in fact health professionals and students, including nurses, psychologists, doctors and researchers. Their aims are promoting and defending sexual and reproductive rights in Portugal; supporting the right to informed and medically assisted choice; promoting equal rights and opportunities regardless of gender and sexual orientation; and defending a free and universal National Health

¹⁶⁵ The conclusions of this seminar can be found at http://grip-ilga.blogspot.com/2007_03_01_archive.html and <http://www.lerparaver.com/node/5522> (accessed 08/12/2008).

¹⁶⁶ A list of all of the invited speakers as well as topics addressed is available at <http://festadadiversidade.blogspot.com/2007/07/debates.html> (accessed 08/12/2008).

¹⁶⁷ More information available at <http://www.medicospelaescolha.pt/> (accessed 10/10/2008).

System. Key areas of their intervention include sex education, family planning, abortion, assisted conception and sexuality.

3.15. HIV/Aids Organisations

SOL Association was created in 1992 with three main aims: to respond to the needs of children who were aids' orphans; to provide psychosocial support to HIV-positive mothers/pregnant women; and to promote 'micro-families' of grandparents and grandchildren as a way to overcome the loss of parents.¹⁶⁸

In 2005 the organisation Espaço T, which is a community-based organisation addressing poverty and social integration, published a special issue of its magazine *Con(tacto)*, dedicated to Aids and visual impairment. The publication, consisting of 3500 copies, was launched in Braille and it also contained a CD with information in audio. The target audience were visually impaired people in Portugal. This initiative was funded by the National Commission of Fight Against AIDS. This publication was distributed by ACAPO – the Portuguese Association of Blind People in Portugal. Earlier, in 2004, Espaço T issued 10000 leaflets in Braille about Aids prevention. The project was called “AIDS, one needs to see”.¹⁶⁹

3.16. Pro-family/ Conservative Women's Organisations

Pro-family and conservative women's groups have been active in Portuguese society particularly after the 1998 abortion referendum campaign.¹⁷⁰ This event triggered collective mobilisation around anti-choice, and created the conditions for the emergence and development of several anti-choice groups with branches in different cities. Besides anti-choice, other common topics include the protection of motherhood and the (heterosexual) family through specific policies (e.g. tax relief, etc) and the refusal of same-sex relational claims based on heteronormative definitions of family and children's wellbeing. Therefore, intimate citizenship provides a key terrain of action for pro-family and conservative women's organisations.

¹⁶⁸ Available at <http://www.sol-criancas.pt/?idc=1> (accessed 19/12/2008).

¹⁶⁹ Available at <http://www.acapo.pt/news.asp?id=56> (accessed 19/12/2008).

¹⁷⁰ These include the following: Help in the Cradle (<http://www.ajudadeberco.pt/>); Family and Society (<http://www.familiaesociedade.org/>); Centre for Family Guidance (<http://www.cenofa.org/>); Together For Life (<http://www.juntospelavida.org/>).

Most active members of these organisations self-identify as Catholic and are middle class. Two of the most prominent pro-family/conservative women's organisations are the Portuguese Association of the Numerous Families and Women in Action.

Portuguese Association of the Large Families

The Portuguese Association of the Large Families was created in 1999. They present themselves as a “group of couples, with 3 or more children, believing in family values, defending the right to life since conception and feeling the need to support numerous families”.¹⁷¹ They publish an online newsletter, where their major concerns and values are expressed. They emphasise coupledness, marriage, state benefits for larger families and education and taxes policies. Since February 2007, the focus shifted from education and tax policies to pregnancy, anti-abortion and pro-birth, although education and taxes are still mentioned. In this newsletter, they also advertise anti-choice events, international pro-family meetings and holiday cruises for members of the organisation. Fidelity (i.e. monogamy) is among its principles. The pictures show exclusively white people, and the focus is clearly on middle class married couples, rather than working class people, with three or more children. Their logo in the newsletter clearly reinforces the traditional family and traditional gender roles, with 2 adults (one in pink and one in blue) and 4 children (2 in pink and 2 in blue):



In their website they use another logo in which females (in orange) wear skirts/dress and males (in blue) wear trousers, there are more males than females, and the first child is a boy. Under the image a caption reads – “To invest in the family, to build the future”:



¹⁷¹ According to <http://www.apfn.com.pt/> (accessed 05/03/2008).

Women in Action

This women's organisation was created in 2000. According to its website, its aims include the fight against discrimination and the promotion of equality between women and men.¹⁷² It is known for its anti-choice public statements and campaigns (particularly during the Making Waves campaign in 2004 and the 2007 abortion referendum campaign), as well as the defence of the heterosexual family, and the refusal of same-sex marriage and adoption.¹⁷³ Their chart of principles includes that of complementarity between women and men and the recognition of the "traditional family" as the "fundamental and structuring element of society". Its aims consist of fighting for equal access to job opportunities, equal pay, protection of motherhood, work/family balance and more participation of women in the public sphere.

3.17. Political Parties and Trade Unions

Abortion rights as an issue has brought together both feminist organisations, left-wing political parties and trade unions. For instance, in 1994 the colloquium "Ten years after: the situation of abortion in Portugal", in Lisbon, was organised by MODAP – Opinion Movement for the Decriminalisation of Abortion in Portugal. MODAP included political parties, trade unions and women's NGOs, such as the National Department of Socialist Women, the Women Department of UGT, the Communist Women's Organisation, UMAR, MDM, APF and the southern trade union of medical doctors, amongst others.¹⁷⁴

National Section of Socialist Women

Created in 1987 as the Socialist Women's Association, they have centred their public statements and initiatives on issues of equal opportunities, reproductive health and the participation of

¹⁷² Available at <http://www.mulheresemaccao.org/> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁷³ See, for example, http://www.mulheresemaccao.org/noticias_view.asp?Id=221 and http://www.mulheresemaccao.org/noticias_view.asp?Id=399 (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁷⁴ More information, including the full programme of this event, available at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/10602013.PDF> (accessed 10/12/2008).

women in the public sphere.¹⁷⁵ In 2008, they issued a statement against female genital mutilation, in support of women in Guinea Bissau.¹⁷⁶

Socialist Youth

The youth section of the Socialist Party has been one of the main political forces within the Portuguese Parliament to take up intimate citizenship issues. For instance, it was after a 1997 proposal concerning cohabitation that a de facto union law inclusive of both different and same-sex couples passed in 2001. In 2001, they also drafted a legal proposal concerning the legal recognition of prostitutes as workers.¹⁷⁷

Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)

In November 2003, the Communist MP Ilda Figueiredo addressed the topic of human trafficking. The last section of her statement, however, shows how prostitution is perceived by the Communist Party. She says:

The other side of this problem is the way in which prostitution is viewed in our society. It is an attack on women's dignity and a serious problem of human rights that we must face, study, analyse its diverse causes and try to intervene at different levels, namely preventing and socially integrating women who are victims of prostitution. These are clues for approach and action that we should pursue, so that new forms of slavery do not multiply themselves [my translation].¹⁷⁸

The communist party's views about prostitution had already been expressed in 2001, in an article following a parliamentary debate. The communist MP Odete Santos wrote:

Let's be clear: most women want to leave prostitution. [...] What is now called sex work is temporary and women (most of them) get so hurt that they can never work again. Women become exposed to all sort of brutal behaviour – rapes, serious injuries requiring hospital treatment, torture, mutilation, kidnaps. Is this what they want to

¹⁷⁵ According to <http://mulheres.ps.pt/main.php> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁷⁶ Available at http://mulheres.ps.pt/cms/pdf/Mocao_I_Cimeira_das_Mulheres_da_Lusofonia_01Marco2008.pdf (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁷⁷ More about this in *Publico*, 18/05/2001, also available at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/2030209.PDF> (accessed 10/10/2008).

¹⁷⁸ Full statement available at http://www.pcp.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5266&Itemid=195 (accessed 24/04/2008).

regulate? The pimping, the crime, is this what they want to legalise? [my translation].¹⁷⁹

In 2004, PCP launched the annual Women's Diary. Each month was dedicated to a different topic, with a particular focus on intimate citizenship issues, namely sexuality(ies); family planning; sex education; responsible maternity/paternity; painless child delivery; teenage pregnancy; decriminalisation of abortion; menopause; old women; violence; sexual rights; and reproductive rights.¹⁸⁰ In March 2008, PCP demanded from the Government that there would be maternity and paternity leave of 150 days, paid 100%, that would be available to unemployed workers, as well as to those searching for their first job.¹⁸¹

From April 2008 onwards, women's groups from political parties could no longer participate as members of the consultants' council of CIG (Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality). Being a member since 1977, the Communist Women's Organisation issued a statement demanding explanations and to know who will be a member of CIG's consultants council (made up of 30 national and 10 local organizations, by invitation). They also state that:

PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] will keep on intervening in order to support the important role of the women's organizations regarding raising their awareness and participation in relation to their rights and expectations and to link its social and political intervention to the fight for women's rights, to the reinforcement of their equal participation in all fields of life, to the fight against the right-wing policy of the current Socialist Party Government/Socrates and to the implementation of policies which will make their emancipatory struggle a success [my translation].¹⁸²

Group To Be a Woman [Ser Mulher]

This used to be a women's group within the left-wing political party PSR, which after 1999 created the Left Bloc together with two other parties. This group was a member of the National Coordination of Women, created in 1987.

¹⁷⁹ Published in *Avante*, 24/05/2001, also available at <http://cdocfeminista.docbweb.net/MULTIMEDIA/ASSOCIA/UMAR/2030206.PDF> (accessed 10/10/2008; my translation).

¹⁸⁰ Available at http://www.pcp.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=6461&Itemid=195 (accessed 24/04/2008).

¹⁸¹ Source: http://www.pcp.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31484&Itemid=195 (accessed 24/04/2008).

¹⁸² Full statement available at http://www.pcp.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31701&Itemid=195 (accessed 10/10/2008).

M.A.R.I.A.S. – Women in Radical Action for Anti-Sexist Ideals

This is self-described as a group of feminist young women who belong to Left Bloc (BE). Their aim is “to fight for a new world order in which we can decide, in total freedom, about our body and our destiny. We fight for a diversified society that will recognise everyone’s autonomy. Because another world is possible!”.¹⁸³

Trade unions

Despite the high levels of women’s participation in trade unions during the 1970s and the 1980s, very few initiatives within trade unions addressed women’s issues specifically. Between 1974 and 1985, the major coalition of trade unions, CGTP, organised only three events targeting women’s issues (Tavares, 2000). The 1st National Meeting of Women Workers, in 1976, produced a document which demanded the women’s right to free abortion. Meetings which followed in 1978 and 1985 demanded the right to childcare (nurseries and kinder gardens), the protection of motherhood, the implementation of sex education in schools, and abortion rights (Tavares, 2000).

In 1979, the two major coalitions of trade unions – CGT and UGT – were involved in the creation of CITE – Commission for Equality in Job and Employment. It was constituted by governmental representatives and trade unions, and it aimed at promoting equality and non-discrimination between women and men at work, employment and professional training; protecting motherhood and fatherhood; work/family balance. Both these platforms have women’s departments responsible for tackling gender equality issues.

An important actor in terms of the intersection between trade unions and women’s rights is the Madeira Embroidery Union, which was the first and only union 100% directed by women since 1979. Its members actively participated in the creation of the Women’s’ Department within the Madeira Platform of Trade Unions (USAM). In 1991, in a self-evaluating document after 12 years of activity, they said:

Despite emerging within the trade union movement, this department has exceeded the reality of professional issues and it has had an important role in the field of women’s

¹⁸³ Available at <http://www.mulheresmarias.blogspot.com/> (accessed 09/12/2008).

emancipation, promoting family planning for all women, demanding nurseries and kinder gardens, and opposing beauty contests (cit in Tavares, 2000: 43; my translation).

In July 2007, the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (CGTP) – the biggest coalition gathering trade unions in Portugal – launched its Manifesto for Equal Opportunities for All. This document demanded policies promoting equality and fighting discrimination based on gender, racial or ethnic background, age, religion, sexual orientation, disability, drug addiction and HIV. This document identified and demanded a series of measures, most of them related to the sphere of employment, and it was subscribed by fourteen organisations, including members of the disabled people's movement (National Confederation of Disabled People's Organisations – CNOD and Portuguese Association of Disabled People – APD), a Catholic organisation (Catholic Workers Youth – *Juventude Operaria Catolica*), the women's movement (UMAR, Democratic Movement of Women – MDM), the LGBT movement (Clube Safo, nao te privas – NTP, Opus Gay, Panteras Rosa) and immigrant and anti-racism organizations (Solidariedade Imigrante and SOS-Racismo), among others.¹⁸⁴

3.18. Youth Organisations

Portuguese Network of Young People for Gender Equality – REDE¹⁸⁵

Created in 2000 after an initiative of the Women's European Lobby (LEM) and with the support of former CIDM (governmental body), REDE is a youth organisation which promotes gender equality, in line with what the EU and the UN determine. REDE describes itself as having two main areas of intervention – gender equality and youth – aiming at gender mainstreaming amongst young people. REDE gathers members of youth organisations, women's organisations, political parties and student organisations, to name but a few. Their main activities consist of training workshops, lobbying, non-formal education and research projects. REDE is also a member of other national and international networks, including CIG, Asociacion des Femmes de

¹⁸⁴ Document available at <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/documentostemp/manifestocgtp/manifesto.pdf> (accessed 15/04/2008).

¹⁸⁵ NGO website: <http://redejovensigualdade.org.pt/> (accessed 15/06/2008).

l'Europe Méridionale (AFEM) and LEM.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, REDE's activities and concerns do not address intimate citizenship issues.

National Association of Youth For Family Action¹⁸⁷

This NGO intersects pro-family concerns with youth work. They organise training workshops about health and safety and parenting, as well as socio-cultural activities with the elderly, social, psychological and juridical support.¹⁸⁸ They also provide courses and consciousness-raising sessions about gender equality, work/family balance and gender violence.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ NGO website: <http://afem.itane.com/> (accessed 15/06/2008).

¹⁸⁷ NGO website: <http://www.anjaf.pt/> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁸⁸ For a description about this, see <http://www.anjaf.pt/curso.php?cursoID=63> (accessed 11/12/2008).

¹⁸⁹ See <http://www.anjaf.pt/projecto.php?projectoID=63> (accessed 11/12/2008).

Appendices Portugal

Appendix 1: Portuguese Women's Groups – Acronyms and Translation

AJP – Justice and Peace Action (*Acção para a Justiça e Paz*)

Alliance for Parity Democracy (*Aliança para a Democracia Paritária*)

AMCV – Association of Women Against Violence (*Associação de Mulheres Contra a Violência*)

AMUCIP – Association for the Development of Portuguese Roma Women and Children (*Associação para o Desenvolvimento das Mulheres e Crianças Ciganas Portuguesas*)

APAV – Portuguese Association in Support of Victims (*Associação Portuguesa de Apoio à Vítima*)

APEM – Portuguese Women's Studies Association (*Associação Portuguesa de Estudos sobre as Mulheres*)

APF – Family Planning Association (*Associação para o Planeamento da Família*)

Association of Women Jurists (*Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Juristas*)

CCF – Commission for the Feminine Condition (*Comissão da Condição Feminina*)

CIDM – Commission for the Equality and Rights of Women (*Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres*)

CIG – Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (*Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género*)

CIPA – Centre for the Information, Promotion and Monitoring of Politics for Equality (*Centro de Informação, Promoção e Acompanhamento de Políticas de Igualdade*)

CNAC – National Campaign for the Right to Abortion and Contraception (*Campanha Nacional pelo Aborto e Contracepção*)

Crusade of Portuguese Women (*Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas*)

CS – Clube Safo – Association in Defence of Lesbian Rights

Farmer Women's Association (*Associação Portuguesa das Mulheres Agricultoras*)

Federation of Portuguese Business and Entrepreneur Women (*Federação de Mulheres Empresárias e Profissionais de Portugal*)

Female Entrepreneurs Portuguese Organisation (*Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Empresárias*)

Feminine Association for Peace (*Associação Feminina para a Paz*)

Feminine Intervention (*Intervenção Feminina*)

Feminine Portuguese Youth (*Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*)

Feminist Collective (*Colectivo Feminista*)

Feminist Propaganda Organisation (*Associação de Propaganda Feminista*)

GAMP – Autonomous Oporto Women’s Group (*Grupo Autónomo de Mulheres do Porto*)

GMP – Oporto Women’s Group (*Grupo de Mulheres do Porto*)

Graal – Portuguese branch of The Grail

IDM – Information Documentation Women (*Informação/ Documentação Mulheres*)

League for the Women’s Rights (*Liga dos Direitos das Mulheres*)

M.A.R.I.A.S. – Women in Radical Action For Anti-Sexist Ideals (*Mulheres em Acção Radical por Ideais Anti-Sexistas*)

MAPA – Women Preparing Tomorrow (*Mulheres Preparando o Amanhã*)

MDM – Women’s Democratic Movement (*Movimento Democrático de Mulheres*)

MLM – Women’s Liberation Movement (*Movimento de Libertação das Mulheres*)

MODAP – Opinion Movement for the Decriminalisation of Abortion in Portugal (*Movimento de Opinião pela Despenalização do Aborto em Portugal*)

Mothers’ Work for National Education (*Obra das Mães para a Educação Nacional*)

Movement Yes for Tolerance (*Movimento Sim Pela Tolerância*)

National Coordination of Women (*Coordenadora Nacional de Mulheres*)

National Council for Portuguese Women (*Conselho Nacional de Mulheres Portuguesas*)

NTP – Don’t Deprive Yourself – Group in Defence of Sexual Rights (*Não Te Prives – Grupo de Defesa dos Direitos Sexuais*)

Portuguese Association for Historic Research about Women (*Associação Portuguesa Investigação Histórica Sobre As Mulheres*)

Portuguese Association Women and Sports (*Associação Portuguesa Mulher e Desporto*)

PPDM – Portuguese Platform for Women’s Rights (*Plataforma Portuguesa para os Direitos das Mulheres*)

Purple Network (*Rede Lilás*)

REDE – Portuguese Network of Young People for Gender Equality (*Rede Portuguesa de Jovens para a Igualdade de Oportunidades entre Mulheres e Homens*)

Republican League of Portuguese Women (*Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas*)

Socialist Women’s Association (*Associação de Mulheres Socialistas*)

UMAR – United Women Alternative and Answer (*União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta*)

WMW – World March of Women (*Marcha Mundial de Mulheres*)

Women in Action (*Mulheres em Acção*)

Women 21st Century – Association for women’s development and support (*Mulheres Século XXI*)

Women Who Work at Home (*Associação das Mulheres que trabalham em casa*)

Women's Editorial Cooperative (*Cooperativa Editorial de Mulheres*)

Women's Group of the Academic Association of Coimbra (*Grupo de Mulheres da Associação Académica de Coimbra*)

Working Team on the Woman's Participation in Economic and Social Life (*Grupo de Trabalho sobre a Participação das Mulheres na Vida Económica e Social*)

Appendix 2: Intimate Citizenship in Portugal – a Timeline¹⁹⁰

Year	Event	Observations
Before 1900		
1867	First Portuguese Civil Code – Seabra Code	It establishes legal male dominance, meaning that a woman who wanted to leave the marital house could only do it after requiring to be <i>deposited</i> in an honest family house chosen by the judge. ¹⁹¹
1868	First feminist newspaper	Published on the 5 th January, it was directed by Francisca Wood, a Portuguese woman married to a British man. The newspaper published 102 issues.
1886	Portuguese Penal Code	Sexual abuse was defined in terms of the virginity of the woman-victim
1889	1 st woman with a degree in Medicine	Elisa Augusta da Conceição de Andrade (School of Medical-Surgery of Lisbon).
1889	Creation of the women's organisation Feminist Society	In Portuguese: <i>Sociedade Feminista</i> .
1900-1909		
1905	Publication of <i>As Mulheres Portuguesas</i> [The Portuguese Women], authored by Ana de Castro Osório	This is considered a feminist manifesto.
1906	1 st female high school (Maria Pia)	
1906	Launching of <i>Jornal da Mulher</i>	Directed by Albertina Paraiso, it was considered a feminist publication. It folded in 1910.
1907	Newspaper <i>Alma Feminina</i> [Feminine Soul]	Between 1907 and 1908.
1909	Creation of the Republican League of Portuguese Women.	In Portuguese: Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas. It argued for women's right to vote and divorce. The initiative was due to Adelaide Cabete, Ana de Castro Osório and Fausta Pinto de Gama, middle class and active members of the republican movement.
1910-1919		
1910	End of Monarchy and implementation of the Republican Regime New laws: marriage and divorce	It changes the Seabra Code: 1) banishes the principle that it was up to the husband to protect his wife and her assets and that it was up to the wife to obey to her husband; 2) states that marriage is based on freedom and equality. Divorce was legally introduced in Portugal on the 3 November 1910. Divorce by mutual agreement was allowed.

¹⁹⁰ This timeline tracks when issues of intimate life rose to prominence within the women's movement in particular, and shows these issues in relation to other significant events/social changes in Portugal.

¹⁹¹ Beleza, T. 1990. *Mulheres, Direito, Crime ou a Perplexidade de Cassandra*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Direito

1910	Newspaper <i>O Jornal da Mulher</i> [Woman's newspaper]	Between 1910 and 1912.
1911-1919	Education reforms	Free education to all children; mixed gender schools; 5 years of mandatory education for both boys and girls.
1911	1 st female vote: Carolina Beatriz Ângelo.	She used her identity as mother and widow to claim her status as head of family. Two years after that the law changed so that voting became a privilege for men only.
1911	Creation of the Feminist Propaganda Organisation	In Portuguese: Associação de Propaganda Feminista.
1911	Creation of Group of the Thirteen	In Portuguese: Grupo das Treze. Created to fight against superstitions that affected mainly Portuguese women. Each one of the 13 participants described the aims of the group using sentences of 13 words. It disbanded in October 1913.
1912	Homosexuality is criminalised	
1913	Debate and change in the election system law	Only men who know how to read and write are entitled to vote (Law n. 3, 03/07/1913). One MP from the Republican Party suggests women and illiterate people should be entitled to vote. MP Jacinto Nunes said that if women were not allowed to vote then the constitution should be torn apart.
1913	1 st woman with a degree in Law - Regina Quintanilha	
1914	Creation of the National Council for Portuguese Women	In Portuguese: Conselho Nacional de Mulheres Portuguesas. Created by Adelaide Cabete, gynecologist and women's rights activist. During the dictatorship, this council was able to maintain its network of members (200 in 1933). Adelaide Cabete retired in 1930, being replaced by younger women such as Maria Lamas and Elina Guimarães. The council was dissolved in June 1947, after an international exhibition on books written by women at the Sociedade de Belas Artes. The excuse given was its closeness to the peace movement, inspired by communist ideology.
1917	Creation of the Crusade of Portuguese Women	In Portuguese: Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas. Created by Ana de Castro Osório, to support Portugal's intervention in the 1 st WW.
1918	Republican League of Portuguese Women disbanded	
1918	Women are entitled access to Law degrees (Law-decree n. 4676)	However it mentioned the following "Although women are equal to men in their ability for intelligence and work, there are tasks of command and initiative which are <i>naturally</i> reserved to men" [my italics]
1920-1929		
1920	Women can teach in male high-schools	
1924	1 st Feminist Congress of Education	Organised by the National Council of Portuguese Women, 4-9 May 1914, in Lisbon. It had a major impact, with the participation of important names of international and national feminism.

1926	Dictatorship starts (military dictatorship)	After 1933, the dictatorship regime is headed by Salazar, until 1968 when Salazar is replaced by Marcello Caetano.
1928	2 nd Feminist Congress of Education	
1928	Elina Guimarães publishes the article “A Mulher na Família e na Sociedade – A mulher nas relações sociais” [The woman in family and society – women in social relations], in the newspaper <i>O Rebate</i>	
1928	The magazine <i>Alma Feminina</i> includes in the cover a picture of the British suffragette Josephine Butler, in her century anniversary.	November/December. Josephine Butler was also active in sex workers’ rights.
1930-1939		
1931	(Some) Women vote (Decree n. 19694, 5 May 1931)	Only women with a university degree can vote. The only requirement posed to men was that they needed to know how to read and write.
1933	Constitution	Restates equality among all citizens and the denial of any privilege based on birth, title, sex or social condition, except for women, in differences deriving from their nature and the wellbeing of the family.
1935	1 st female MPs (National Assembly):	Domitila de Carvalho, Maria Guardiola and Maria Cândida Parreira.
1936	Creation of the Feminine Association for Peace, gathering women in the struggle for peace and women’s rights	In Portuguese: Associação Feminina para a Paz.
1936	Creation of the Mothers’ Work for National Education, a women’s organisation within the dictatorship’s official ideological framework	In Portuguese: Obra das Mães para a Educação Nacional. It was created by minister Carneiro Pacheco on 15/08/1936, aiming to stimulate the educational role of the family.
1937	Creation of Feminine Portuguese Youth, female organisation within the dictatorship official ideological framework	In Portuguese: Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina.
1939	Civil Code reintroduces the deliver and judicial deposit of the married woman	This had been introduced for the 1 st time in 1876, but then removed in December 1910 by the Republican regime.
1940-1949		
1940	<i>Concordat</i> [agreement between the Vatican state and the Portuguese state]	No divorce to spouses married by the Catholic church.
1942	Law-decree n. 32171, against contraceptives and abortion	Reinforcing a previous prohibition (1929) against propaganda and publicity of contraceptive and abortion methods. There would be sanctions for anyone attempting to produce or sell those products.
1942	Law-decree n. 31913/42 established that nurses could no longer get married.	
1945	Maria Lamas elected president of the National Council of Portuguese Women	
1948	Extinction of the National Council of Portuguese Women, after a big event with books authored by women, and debates.	

	Publication of the book <i>As Mulheres do Meu País</i> [Women of my country], authored by feminist Maria Lamas.	It is considered the first book in the field of women's studies in Portugal (Fiadeiro, 1998). ¹⁹²
1949	Maria Lamas and other feminist leaders are arrested by the political police (Pide) on the 17 th December.	The court case found them guilty of activities against the political regime.
1950-1959		
1957	Creation of Graal	
1960-1969		
1961	Publication of “Carta a Uma Jovem Portuguesa” [Letter to a Portuguese Young Woman], in the students newspaper of the University of Coimbra <i>Via Latina</i>	Authored by Artur Marinha de Campos, this letter challenged the sexual morality imposed by the dictatorship regime.
1962	Decree-law n. 44579 (of 19 September 1962) outlaws prostitution	Brothels are closed down
1962	Introduction of contraceptive methods in Portugal (the pill), for therapeutic reasons exclusively.	
1963	Decree-law n. 44579 (of 19 September 1962) enters into force	Punishes prostitutes with prison.
1966	Portugal signed the Labour International Organisation Convention n. 100 (dating from 1951), on Equal Pay for Equal Work Between Men and Women	
1967	New Civil Code	Family's head is the husband. Maintains the “deliver and judicial deposit of the married woman” reintroduced in 1939. New assets regime law: from a general sharing of assets regime to a sharing of acquired assets regime Establishes that marriage must be wilful, and not “biased with error or coercion”.
1967	Creation of the Family Planning Association (APF)	In Portuguese: Associação para o Planeamento da Família. Key actor in sexual and reproductive health and rights up to current days.
1967	Seminar series “Women in contemporary society”	Organised by the Students Union of the Lisbon Law School.
1968	The dictator Salazar is replaced by Marcello Caetano	Historians call this period the ‘Marcelista Spring’, indicating that Marcelo Caetano was less authoritarian than Salazar
1969	Decree-law n. 49 317, 25 October 1969	Married women can travel abroad without the authorisation of their husband.
1969	Decree-law n. 49408, 24 November 1969	Inclusion of the principle “equal salary for equal work”.
1970-1979		

¹⁹² Fiadeiro, Maria Antónia 1998. Maria Lamas (1893-1983), comprovadamente jornalista. Tacitamente Feminista, In *Actas do Seminário sobre o Movimento Feminista em Portugal*. UMAR.

1970	Creation of the Working Team on the Woman's Participation in Economic and Social Life.	In Portuguese: Grupo de Trabalho sobre a Participação das Mulheres na Vida Económica e Social. Headed by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, who would later become the first (and only) female Portuguese Prime Minister (1979-1980). It gathered information concerning discriminations within the law. It suggested changes in Family Law and labour for women.
1971	1 st woman in the Government.	Maria Teresa Lobo, State Sub-Secretary for Assistance.
1971	Law-Decree n. 409/71, 27 September, prohibits night shifts for women working in the industry sector	
1972	Publication of the book <i>Novas Cartas Portuguesas</i> [New Portuguese Letters] authored by Maria Velho da Costa, Maria Isabel Barreno and Maria Teresa Horta.	This document was translated into different languages and is part of the European feminist canon, according to Lynne Segal (2007) ¹⁹³ .
1973	Court case against the authors of <i>Novas Cartas Portuguesas</i>	The authoritarian regime accused the authors of immorality and pornography. They could not leave the country and the media could not mention their names. This court case had several sessions and it was over in 1974, after the revolution. The "Three Marias" were found innocent on all charges.
1973	Creation of the Commission for Social Policy Concerning Women	Headed by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, who would later become the first (and only) female Portuguese Prime Minister (1979-1980).
1973	Creation of AJP	
1974	Revolution and instauration of Democracy	Women have access to local administration posts (Law-decree n. 251/74), to diplomatic careers (Law-decree n. 308/74) and can become magistrates (Law-decree n. 492/74). Full equality in voting (Law-Decree n. 621/A/74). 1 st public manifesto on abortion rights issued by the women's organisation <i>Movimento de Libertação das Mulheres</i> (04/05/1974)
1974	Creation of the Women's Liberation Movement – MLM	In Portuguese: Movimento de Libertação das Mulheres
1975	International Year of Women (UN).	
1975	First feminist public demonstration	Organised by MLM, in January, in Park Eduardo VII. Women were attacked by hundreds of men.
1975	Creation of the Commission on the Feminine Condition	In Portuguese: Comissão da Condição Feminina. It replaces the Commission for Social Policy Concerning Women. It gathered information concerning sexual discrimination in Portugal. Establishment of a common platform for debate and understanding among women's organisations belonging to different political and social arenas.

¹⁹³ Segal, L. 2007. *Making Trouble: Life and Politics*. London: Serpent's Tail.

		Some authors consider it a landmark, the start of a new period called “institutionalised feminism” (Joaquim, 2007: 208). ¹⁹⁴
1975	Creation of MCALG – Movement for Free Contraception and Abortion	In Portuguese: Movimento para a Contraceção e Aborto Livre e Gratuito.
1975	Change in the 1940 <i>Concordat</i> , in order to allow religiously married couples to get access to civil divorce (Law-decree n. 187/75, 4 April).	
1976	1 st Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party)
1976	Constitution (In its article 16 it states that this document must be in accordance with the Universal Declarations of Human Rights)	Equality: no one can be privileged, benefit from, be harmed or restricted from any right or duty because of origin, sex, race, language, place of birth, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation or social condition. Protection of female workers (payment and rest/leave to pregnant workers) Fatherhood and motherhood are upheld as important social values that should be legally protected. Political participation: law should promote equal access and freedom from discrimination in accessing political positions.
1976	Several laws concerning women’s rights and reproductive health	It is no longer lawful to the husband to open his wife’s correspondence (Law-decree n. 474/76, 16 June). Maternity leave of 90 days (Law-decree n. 112/76, 7 February). Family planning medical appointments area implemented in health centres (decision SES dating 16/03/1976)
1976	The public TV channel RTP broadcasts a piece on illegal abortion in Portugal (“Abortion is not a crime”). The journalist, Maria Antónia Palla, faces judicial proceedings accused of indecency and incitement to crime.	In 1979, the court decided Maria Antónia Palla had not only the right but also the duty to report on such a serious situation as the illegal abortion in Portugal was.
1976	Creation of UMAR	Feminist women’s organisation.
1977	Law-decree n. 485/77 – formally established the Commission for the Feminine Condition	Aimed at supporting all forms of Portuguese women’s awareness and the elimination of discrimination against them, as part of the process of including them in a changing Portuguese society.
1977	New Civil Code	Equality between spouses is established
1977	Petition “We have made an abortion”, with 5,000 signatures demanding abortion rights.	
1977	Creation of Women’s Editorial Cooperative	In Portuguese: Cooperativa Editorial de Mulheres.

¹⁹⁴ Joaquim, T. 2007. Feminismos, estudos sobre as mulheres ou ‘para onde vai ete barco?’. In Amâncio *et al* (Eds), *O Longo Caminho das Mulheres. Feminismos 80 Anos Depois*. Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

1978	2 nd Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party).
1978	Revised Civil Code (after Law-decree n. 496/77)	<p>Equality: the power of the husband and the father is abolished and replaced by the legal recognition of equality between the spouses.</p> <p>The wife no longer needs her husband permission to become a trade business woman. Each spouse can decide to have any profession without the other's authorisation. Both spouses should decide where to live. Both husband and wife can add to his/her own name up to two surnames of his/her spouse.</p> <p>Children born out of wedlock are no longer legally discriminated against.</p> <p>Eradication of the figure "head of family"</p> <p>Spouses of religious Catholics marriages are entitled to divorce.</p> <p>Legal majority age is 18 and the minimum age for getting married is 16.</p>
1978	Demonstration against trafficking of women	Organised by women's organisation UMAR, in Oporto, 28/01/1978
1978	Launching of the magazine <i>Mulheres</i> , directed by Maria Lamas	Chief writer was Maria Teresa Horta, one of the "Three Maries" in 1972.
1978	Creation of GAMP – Autonomous Oporto Women's Group	In Portuguese: Grupo Autonomo de Mulheres do Porto.
1978	3 rd Constitutional Government	Nobre da Costa.
1978	4 th Constitutional Government	Mota Pinto.
1979	5 th Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party).
1979	1 st woman Prime-Minister	Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo. Her Government lasted from 07/07/1979 until 03/01/1980.
1979	Law-decree n. 392/79	Equality between women and men in labour. No woman should be discriminated against on the basis of her marital status or family situation. One exception: public administration (only changed in 1988).
1979	1 st meeting of the Consultants Council of the Commission for the Feminine Condition	<p>Members:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's department of the Socialist Party; • OMC – Organisation of Communist Women; • MDM – Women's Democratic Movement; • UMAR - União das Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta; • Women of the Democrat Social Party; • Women of CDS [right-wing party]; <p>Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo becomes the first (and only) female Portuguese Prime Minister (5 months, from 1979-1980). She was also the first female minister (Social</p>

		Affairs, between 1974 and 1975).
1979	Creation of CITE – Commission for Equality in Job and Employment. It is constituted by governmental representatives and trade unions.	Aims: promoting equality and non-discrimination between women and men at work, employment and professional training; protecting motherhood and fatherhood; work/family balance.
1979	After 3 years, the court decided Maria Antónia Palla had not only the right but also the duty to report on such a serious situation as the illegal abortion in Portugal was	
1979	1 st court case of a woman accused of abortion: Conceição Massano.	She was found not guilty.
1979	Creation of CNAC	Pro-choice coalition.
1979	Creation of the Women's Group of the Academic Association of Coimbra	
1980-1989		
1980	6 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
1980	1 st woman elected for Civil Governor	Mariana Calhau Perdigão
1980	Portugal ratifies the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	
1980	Portugal is one of the first states to sign the UNO Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979).	That document came into force on the 03/09/1981. It is often considered the Chart of Women's Fundamental Rights.
1980	Congress of MDM, including the approval of a "Constitution of Women's Rights"	
1981	7 th and 8 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
1981	Implementation of Law-decree n. 421/80, establishing rules for publicity ads.	It forbids the use of female images as objects, as well as any discrimination based on gender.
1981	Nationality Law	Equal for both genders, and for children born in and out of wedlock.
1980-1984	Several important laws in terms of sexual and reproductive rights.	Women's organisations mobilised around reproductive rights. Political parties did the same (PS and PCP).
1982	New Penal Code	Decriminalisation of homosexuality and incest Includes for the 1 st time the crime of offences between spouses (i.e. physical violence) Introduces different ages of consent, by punishing homosexuality with minors under 16. Heterosexual sex acts with people over 14 was legal. Rape is still gendered, with women being the only possible victims of rape.
1982	Demonstration of women inside the Parliament, wearing t-shirts "We had an abortion"	June 1982.
1982	Creation of the Portuguese diplomats' wives'	In Portuguese: Associação das Mulheres dos Diplomatas

	organisation	Portugueses.
1982	Creation of the GMP – Oporto Women’s Group	
1983	9th Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party).
1983	New Penal Code comes into force	Measures against domestic violence between spouses. Prostitution stops being criminalised. However it is a crime to exploit prostitutes (article n. 215) and human trafficking (article n. 217).
1983	Creation of MAP – Women Preparing Tomorrow	
1984	Law n. 3/84 on sex education and family planning. Law n. 4/84 – Protection of maternity and paternity. Law n. 6/84 creating 4 exceptions to the prohibition of abortion	The Catholic Church and the National Confederation of Family Organisations are against the exceptions to the abortion law. Parliamentarian debates on abortion, maternity, sex education and family planning. Several women’s organisations demonstrate in front of the Parliament demanding abortion rights.
1985	10th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
1985	Seven women are given a special award by the President of the Republic on the national holiday 10 June (Day of Portugal), in recognition of their work to dignify women’s situation.	The women awarded were Elina Guimarães, Branca Rumina, Madalena Cabral, Josefina Silva, Maria da Luz de Deus Ramos, Mary Tarrant Rodrigues and Ana Baraça.
1985	Creation of the Female Entrepreneurs Portuguese Organisation	In Portuguese: Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Empresárias
1986	Portugal enters EEC	Portugal is bounded to implement into national laws any EEC directive regarding equality. EEC can give grants to projects aiming to support women’s situation.
1986	Creation of the League for the Women’s Rights	In Portuguese: Liga dos Direitos das Mulheres.
1986	Creation of the Feminine Intervention	Original: Intervenção Feminina.
1987	11 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
1987	1 st Parliamentary debate in the International Women’s Day (8 th March)	Possibly because of the recent EEC membership
1987	Law n. 30/87 (Military Duty)	All male citizens must carry out military duty, but female citizens are <i>excused</i> from that obligation.
1987	NGOs in the Consultant Council of the Commission for the Feminine Condition approve the creation of a Platform of Action Towards Equality	
1987	Creation of the Socialist Women’s Association	In Portuguese: Associação de Mulheres Socialistas.
1987	Creation of Farmer Women’s Association	In Portuguese: Associação Portuguesa das Mulheres Agricultoras.
1987	Creation of the National Coordination of Women	In Portuguese: Coordenadora Nacional de Mulheres.

1987	CIDM organises a seminar about violence against women	
1988	Law-decree n. 426/88.	Equality between men and women at work applies to Public Administration (i.e. Central Administration – councils, municipalities, government, etc.) – they had been exempt so far, since 1979 (Law-decree n. 292/79).
1988	Law n. 95/88, ascribing rights to women's organisations	
1988	The Centre for Christian Meditation organises a debate on Women and Church.	
1989	1 st woman elected to the Constitutional Court. For the first time the Academy of Sciences accepts women as effective members. 1 st women accepted in the Portuguese Army.	Assunção Esteves. Agustina Bessa Luís and Isabel Magalhães Colaço.
1989	Creation of the Association of Women Jurists	In Portuguese: Associação Portuguesa de Mulheres Juristas.
1989	Creation of Federation of Portuguese Business and Entrepreneur Women	In Portuguese: Federação de Mulheres Empresárias e Profissionais de Portugal.
1989	Creation of Women Who Work at Home	In Portuguese: Associação das Mulheres que trabalham em casa.
1990-1999		
1990	1 st woman elected to the Financial Court [<i>Tribunal de Contas</i>].	Adelina Sá Carvalho.
1990	State's Annual Budget grants funding to women's organisations	For the first time a grant is given to the NGOs in the Consultant Council of the Commission for the Feminine Condition in order to pursue with their activities.
1990	Creation of MODAP – Opinion Movement for the Decriminalisation of Abortion in Portugal	In Portuguese: Movimento de Opinião pela Despenalização do Aborto em Portugal.
1991	12 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
1991	CITE declares that the bank Banco Comercial Português was not respecting gender equality when hiring new employees	
1991	Statutes of the Commission for Equality and Women's Rights (CIDM)	Law-decree n. 166/91, 9 May. It replaces the Commission for the Feminine Condition with CIDM, aiming at “the definition of strategies and implementation of actions which target mentalities and social change and which allow for equality de facto”. At that time the President of the Republics, Cavaco Silva, declared that some of the Commission for the Feminine Condition's aims had already been reached, namely changing the legal status of women and extinguishing any legal discrimination. It is created the Consultant Council of CIDM, which in

		2002 gathered 51 women's organisations. CIDM is placed under the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (Law-decree n. 45/91).
1991	Creation of the Portuguese Association of Women's Studies (APEM)	In Portuguese: Associacao Portuguesa de Estudos Sobre as Mulheres.
1991	Creation of the first Portuguese lesbian magazine called <i>Organa</i>	
1991	Law n. 61/91 – Support to women victims of domestic violence	It includes sexual crimes and violence between spouses, as well as kidnapping with the purpose of bodily harm. Women's organisations can be women's legal representatives.
1991	Access to Air Force and Army	Law n. 77/91 and <i>Portaria</i> n. 1156/91 – Women can volunteer to be in the Air Force and Army. Only in 1996 (<i>Portaria</i> n. 238/96) all weapons and services within the Military are accessible to women.
1992	Access to Marine	<i>Portaria</i> n. 163/92 – Women can volunteer to be in the Marine.
1992	Access to night shifts for women	
1992	Law-decree n. 59/92	Ascribes CIDM with direct responsibilities in providing professional information to women.
1992	Portugal in the CE Presidency	CIDM promotes the European Seminar "Constructing Equality".
1993	Debate about "Violence against women – limits and law", organised by AMCV	
1993	The Parliament unanimously approves the Athens Declaration, referring to balanced participation of women and men in places of political decision.	One year after this, in 1994, for the European Parliament elections only 2 of the 25 MPs were women (8%).
1993	Law N. 12/93, 22 April, concerning tissue donation	It determined that there must be up to a third degree of kinship between the donor and the receiver.
1993	Law-decree n. 329/93	Same age for male and female pensioners (65 years), in the general regime.
1993	Creation of the Association of Women Against Violence – AMCV	In Portuguese: Associação de Mulheres Contra a Violência.
1993	Creation of the lesbian group and magazine <i>Lilás</i>	It replaced <i>Organa</i> .
1993	Creation of the organisation Migrant Woman	In Portuguese: Mulher Migrante . It aims to study the issues related to female migration.
1993	Local elections	Among the 305 Mayors elected, only 5 are women (1,6 %).
1994	European Parliament elections	Only 2 of the 25 MPs were women (8%). It was the lowest percentage of the 15 EU countries.
1994	General Assembly of the European Lobby of Women in Lisbon.	
1994	Parliamentary debate about a petition against the	This petition resulted from the initiative of the Group

	refusal to employ women on the part of the bank Millennium BCP	Action Women (GRAM) within the trade union of the bank sector.
1994	Resolution n. 32/94 of the Council of Ministries, about promoting equal opportunities for women.	
1994	Colloquium in Lisbon “Ten years after: the situation of abortion in Portugal”	Organised by several groups, including political parties, trade unions and women’s NGOs.
1995	13 th Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party). Creates a High Commissioner for Issues of Promotion of Equality and Family (Joana de Barros Baptista).
1995	Statutes of Women of the UNO.	Portugal is a member of the UNO Commission of Statutes.
1995	Penal Code is revised	Sentences for domestic violence, rape and exploitation of prostitution become stricter. These also apply to de facto unions.
1995	Law n. 17/95, 9 June – change in the Maternity and Paternity law.	Maternity leave is increased, from 90 to 98 days.
1995	Draft report characterising violence against women in Portugal	Drafted by Universidade Nova de Lisboa, requested by CIDM.
1995	1 st MA course in Women’s Studies	Lisbon, Open University.
1995	MODAP – Opinion Movement for the Decriminalisation of Abortion in Portugal	Issued a letter to politicians demanding abortion rights.
1995	Sex reassignment surgeries are allowed	The National Executive Council of the Deontological Code of the Medical College lift a previously existing ban which prohibited sex reassignment surgeries (resolution dating the 19 May 1995).
1996	1 st woman elected to the Council of State	Maria de Jesus Serra Lopes.
1996	Creation of Clube Safo	Lesbian organisation.
1996	Creation of the High Commissioner for Questions of Promotion of Equality and Family (law-decree n. 3-B/96).	Aims: effective equality between women and men, concerning opportunities and rights.
1997	EU Amsterdam Treaty	Equal opportunities.
1997	UMAR launched a help line called SOS-Abortion	
1997	Creation of the Associacao Portuguesa de Investigacao da Historia das Mulheres	Portuguese Association of Research on Women’s History.
1997	32 women are given a special award by the President of the Republics on the International Women’s Day (8 March)	
1997	One-day conference about prostitution and trafficking organised by the Parliamentary Commission on Parity, Equal Opportunities and Family	
1997	1 st Global Plan for Equal Opportunities, in Portugal	Approved in 6 March and included in the Resolution n. 46/97 of the Council of Ministries. In 20 years, from 1977 to 1997, NGOs in the Consultant Council of CIDM increased from 6 to 43.

1997	Law n. 10/97 – women’s organisations’ rights	This law reinforces women’s organisations’ rights aiming at “eliminating all forms of discrimination and guaranteeing equal fair treatment”.
1997	Law n. 105/97 – Right to Equal Treatment in Labour and Work	It applies equally to the private and public sector. It is up to the employer to prove s/he has not discriminated against the employee based on his/her gender.
1997	Constitution is revised	Among the fundamental tasks of the state is to promote equality between women and men. The state must guarantee access to a national network of kinder gardens and other social equipment aimed to support families (nursery homes, etc.). It must also guarantee access to family planning to allow for conscious maternity and paternity. All women (regardless of being employed or not) are entitled to special protection during pregnancy and after giving birth. The participation of women in the political sphere is considered both condition and fundamental tool for consolidating the democratic system, and therefore the law should promote gender equality in accessing political responsibilities.
1997	Law n. 90/97, 30 July – abortion	It extends the deadlines for doing a legal abortion.
1998	Seminar “The Feminist Movement in Portugal”	Organised by women’s organisation UMAR, in Lisbon, December 1998.
1998	Creation of the Portuguese Association Women and Sports	
1998	1 st referendum on abortion rights	Abortion upon request remains unavailable. The deadline for abortion under the law is extended: up to 26 weeks in case of malformation.
1999	14 th Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party).
1999	Creation of the Ministry of Equality	
1999	1 st de facto union law	Heterosexual couples only.
1999	1 st National Plan Against Domestic Violence	Approved by the Council of Ministers in June.
1999	Law n. 107/99, about public shelters for women victims of violence	
1999	Law n. 118/99, about gender discrimination in the workplace	
1999	Conference “Equality Policies – situations and paradoxes”	Organised by APEM, in Coimbra.
2000-2008		
2000	Domestic violence is considered a public crime and the spouse may be legally prevented from contacting the victim for 2 years	Law n. 7/2000. Parliament approved the project-laws of PS and PCP.

2000	Launching of <i>Faces de Eva</i>	Feminist scientific journal, New University of Lisbon.
2000	Paternity leave	
2000	Creation of the World March of Women (Portuguese branch)	In Portuguese: Marcha Mundial de Mulheres.
2000	Creation of AMUCIP – Association for the Development of Portuguese Roma Women and Children	In Portuguese: Associação para o Desenvolvimento das Mulheres e Crianças Ciganas Portuguesas.
2001	De facto union law and shared economy law	1 st law recognising same-sex cohabitation and any number of persons who live together sharing resources and support for over two years as cohabitants.
2001/02	1 st court case after the 1998 referendum against women and health professionals accused of abortion	In Maia's Court (North of Portugal). Pro-choice women's organizations and activists demonstrate in front of the court and talk to the media. A nurse was sentenced to 8 years in prison and 1 of the 17 women were sentenced to pay a fine of 120€.
2002	15 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
2002	Creation of Don't Deprive Yourself (NTP)	In Portuguese: Nao Te Prives. Queer feminist organisation.
2003	Court case against women and health professionals accused of abortion	In Aveiro's Court (Centre of Portugal). Pro-choice women's organizations and activists demonstrate in front of the court and talk to the media.
2003	Seminar called "Feminisms of Our Times"	Organised by UMAR, in Porto, 5-6 April.
2003	New Labour Code	Expanded the notion of harassment, which is now considered discrimination. Prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation in the sphere of employment.
2003	Adoption Law	Only for heterosexual couples or single people.
2003	Creation of the Purple Network	In Portuguese: Rede Lilás.
2004	16 th Constitutional Government	Centre-right wing (Democrat Social Party).
2004	Feminist Congress	4-6 May. It gathered academics, activists and researchers debating feminism in Lisbon. It was the 80 th anniversary of the 1 st Congress on Feminism and Education (1924). Among the topics debated were abortion, lesbianism, work, equality, women's studies etc.
2004	Women on Waves campaign in Portugal	August/September. Women's organizations strongly mobilize demanding abortion rights. Street demonstrations, TV debates, media campaigning, court cases, etc.
2004	Court case against women and health professionals accused of abortion	In Lisbon's court (South of Portugal). Pro-choice women's organizations and activists demonstrate in front of the court and talk to the media.
2004	Court case against women and health professionals accused of abortion	In Coimbra's Court (Centre of Portugal). Doctor sentenced to 4 years and 8 months prison; his assistant was sentenced to 1 year and 4 months (decision suspended during 3 years) and 3 women were sentenced to 6 months (decision suspended during 2 years)
2004	Constitution is revised	Sexual orientation is included among the grounds for prohibiting discrimination, under the Principle of Equality.

		Portugal is the 1 st European country and the 4 th worldwide to include this provision in its Constitution.
2004	UMAR launched an Observatory of Murdered Women	
2004	Creation of the Portuguese Platform for Women's Rights	
2005	17 th Constitutional Government	Centre-left wing (Socialist Party).
2005	Helena Pinto, former president of the feminist organisation UMAR was elected as MP with Left Bloc	
2005	Court case against women and health professionals accused of abortion	In Setubal's Court (South of Portugal). Pro-choice women's organizations and activists demonstrate in front of the court and talk to the media. All found non-guilty.
2005	Publication of <i>Dicionário da Crítica Feminista</i>	Authored by Ana Gabriela Macedo and Ana Luisa Amaral.
2005	Creation of CIPA	
2006	Assisted Conception Law	Only married women or heterosexual women in a de facto union can access the assisted conception techniques. Single or lesbian women remain excluded.
2006	Dinner party in homage to Portuguese feminists from the 1970s and 1980s.	Organised by UMAR.
2006	Parity Law approved by the President of the Republics	It establishes rules concerning political parties' lists for future elections: all lists must have one-third of women.
2007	2 nd referendum on abortion rights	Abortion is decriminalized up to 10 weeks pregnancy upon women's request.
2007	Law of the Foreigners (Law N. 23/2007, 4 July)	This law made it illegal to marry for purposes of acquiring citizenship and a permanent visa.
2007	New Penal Code	It criminalises those who enforce female genital mutilation on other people: "Those who remove or harm, in a serious way [...] the ability of enjoying sexual pleasure". Hate crimes based on sexual orientation were included among the aggravating grounds in case of murder, alongside hatred based on race, religion, politics, ethnic or national origin, or gender Equal age of consent
2007	Law 22/2007 concerning tissue donation.	It allows friends to be tissue donors, hence revoking the previously existing third degree of kinship rule. It includes in the national juridical system the EU Directive 2004/23/CE
2007	CIG launched the 3 rd National Plan Against Domestic Violence (2007-2010)	
2007	CIG launched the 1 st National Action Plan Against Trafficking In Human Beings (2007-2010)	
2007	Fernando Pessoa Literary Prize to feminist author Irene Pimentel	She writes about women's organisations during dictatorship.

2008	Workshops on Prostitution and Trafficking	Set up by women's organisation UMAR in Lisbon.
2008	Feminist Congress	Lisbon, June 2008. Organised by UMAR.
2009	Creation of the State Secretary of Equality	
2010	Same-sex civil marriages are approved by the Portuguese Parliament	After a change in the Marriage Law. It excludes adoption by same-sex couples.

Appendix 3: Photographs¹⁹⁵

Portuguese feminist women – Early 20th century



May 1924, Lisbon, 1st Feminist Congress of Education:



¹⁹⁵ All images are either available online or the author's responsibility.

During dictatorship:



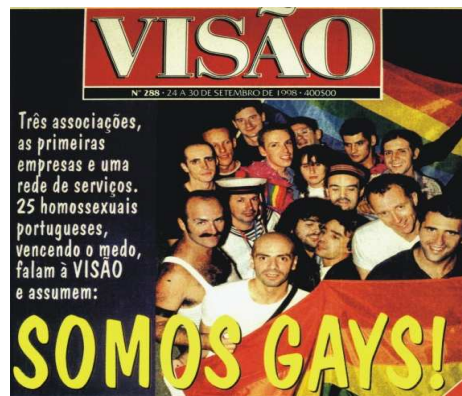
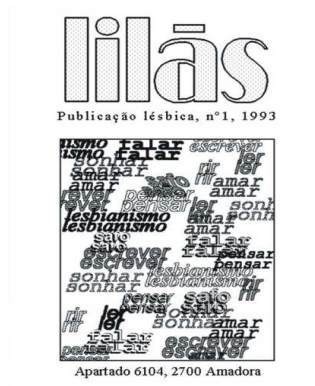
Caption: *New Portuguese Letters*, feminist book published in 1972.

After the revolution – the 1970s and the 1980s:



The 1990s

LGBT initiatives (1993 – 1998):



Source: Exhibition *Olhares (d)a Homossexualidade*

The 2000s

World March of Women – WMW (2000; 2003):



LGBT March, Lisbon, 2000:



Court cases – women who had an abortion, 2001 – 2005:



Feminist Congress, 2004 and 2008:



'Making Waves' Campaign, 2004:



2007 Abortion Referendum Campaign:



United Kingdom

Isabel Crowhurst

Part I: An Overview of the Women's Movement in Britain: from the 1960s to the Present

This section provides a historical overview of the women's movement in Britain. It begins by briefly outlining the development of 'first wave' feminism since the second half of the 19th century, and the demands that stood at the core of its activities. After this background information, the discussion proceeds to the main focus of the report, the period from 1968 to 2008. The analysis of these four decades is subdivided into three sections: from 1968 to 1979, the 1980s, and from the 1990s to 2008. This tripartite periodization broadly reflects the ways in which scholarly literature has distinguished the different phases of the women's movement and feminist activities in Britain.

This part of the report relies mostly on secondary sources: scholarly texts by sociologists, historians, political scientists and, in some cases, also women who have been actively involved in the women's movement. There is a vast literature on the development of the movement¹⁹⁶ during the 1970s and 1980s, but less so for the following period, which is also the period when the very existence of a women's movement is questioned by researchers. Most scholarly writing on the movement from the 1990s onwards is concerned with feminist activities around specific issues – prostitution, domestic violence, reproductive rights, etc – rather than on the movement as a whole (as it had been articulated in the analysis of the previous two decades). This development reflects the widespread (though contested, see Griffin 1995) view that in the past twenty years, the movement has failed to act in concert (Bruley 1999), with feminist activities now articulated and fragmented around specific issues. It is beyond the scope of this report to 'take sides' in this debate. Nevertheless, these issues are integrated in the report; a discussion of the boundaries of the women's movement, and the ways in which it negotiated change, are highly relevant to the ways in which issues of intimate citizenship were/are addressed, formulated, and pursued.

¹⁹⁶ Unless otherwise specified, the term 'movement' in the report is used to indicate the women's movement.

4.1. From ‘First Wave’ Feminism, to the Beginning of a ‘New’ Women’s Movement

Women’s unequal status in society had been addressed since the end of the 18th century, well before the first organized feminist activities began in Britain. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Mary Wollstonecraft (1790) maintained that women had an equal right to self-determination, and stressed the importance of education for women to enhance their capacities and rationality (Coppock et al 1995). Also important have been the writings of Harriet Taylor Mill (1851) and John Stuart Mill (1869) in which they called for sexual equality between men and women, claiming that this could be obtained through equality of opportunity in education, economics and civil liberties (Coppock et al 1995). In the second half of the 19th century, women started organizing to campaign for the achievement of the self-determination and equality that Wollstonecraft, Taylor Mill and Mill had advocated in their works (Smith 2001; Pugh 2000). One of the most prominent women’s groups of what is usually referred to as ‘first wave’ feminism was the *Co-operative Women's Guild*. Formed in 1883, the *Guild* aimed at improving the conditions of women by turning their concerns into political issues (Pugh 2000). In their campaigns and activities they anticipated by almost a century the challenge that second wave feminism brought to the traditional separation between the ‘private’ and the ‘public’ spheres. With other organizations, the *Guild* also started focussing on the demand for the vote as symbolic of a new vision of liberated womanhood (Bruley 1999). It was only after the end of the First World War – during which British feminists had taken sides in the opposing pacifist movements and ‘war effort’ campaigns – that partial suffrage was granted in 1918 and equal suffrage in 1928, thus marking important successes for the movement.

Jeffreys (1982) claims that accounts of British first wave feminism often focus exclusively on the movement’s struggles for political and economic citizenship issues (such as suffrage campaigns, the improvement of women’s education and work opportunities), and less on the equally fervent campaigns of the time concerning issues of sexuality and intimacy. Indeed, from the 1870s the women’s movement campaigned for many important reforms on many aspects related to intimate citizenship, including the custody of children, the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (achieved in 1886), child sexual abuse, the right of women to refuse sexual intercourse in marriage, the so-called ‘White slave trade’, and divorce law reform (Pugh 2000; Jeffreys 1982).

In the areas of sexuality and intimacy, many feminists criticized the double standard of sexual morality that tolerated male sexual behaviours whilst repressing female sexuality. This, they claimed, transformed relationships between men and women, including marriage, into that of ‘master and slave’ (Jeffreys 1982; Hamilton 1909). They argued against biological explanations of male sexual urges, and maintained that the notion of an incontrollable male sexuality was socially constructed and should be challenged and transformed (Jeffreys 1982). Moreover, in response to what they saw as the sex-slavery of marriage, many women made the political choice to remain chaste and celibate. As Hamilton explained in her book *Marriage as a Trade* (1909), ‘spinsters’ helped the cause of all women. By improving their own conditions they “steadily destroyed the prestige of marriage, and the conditions of marriage would have to be improved if there was seen to be a viable alternative to marriage open to women” (1909: 278; quoted in Jeffreys 1982: 642).

Intimate citizenship issues continued to be prominent in the demands and claims of British feminists during the inter-war period. In the mid 1930s, campaigns for legal abortion led to the formation of ALRA, the Abortion Law Reform Association. Composed of feminist campaigners, as well as doctors and lawyers, ALRA fought for the legalization of abortion, but had to wait more than thirty years before this was finally endorsed with the 1967 Abortion Act (with restrictions, see part II) (Berer 1988). Birth control and contraception were also important issues for the movement. Up until the 1920s the government would not allow public clinics to give birth control information, not even to married women. Under pressure from feminist campaigners, clinics and hospitals eventually started providing information on these issues (Pugh 2000; Smith 1990). Financial support during maternity, infant and child allowances, and education for women were other issues pursued in the inter-war years (Coppock et al 1995; Banks 1993). With the arrival of the Second World War, however, most feminist activities and campaigns on these issues came to a halt, and by the time the conflict ended, many of the achievements made in the improvement of women’s social status had been lost (Pugh 2000; Smith 1990). “For the sake of rebuilding the war-stricken nation, women’s primary role was defined in British social policy as that of homemaker and childrearer [...]. Feminist voices were silenced by a raising tide of patriotism, economic expansionism and new consumerism” (Coppock et al 1995: 12).

By the early 1960s, the vast majority of active women's groups – including the Fawcett Society and the Six Point Group (see box 1) – that had been campaigning for decades on issues of intimate, political and economic citizenship, were struggling to recruit and involve new and younger members (Clements 2008; Pugh 2000; Caine 1997; Banks 1993; Meehan 1990). The demise of the Women's Freedom League¹⁹⁷ in 1961, an organization that had been campaigning for more than 50 years, is often cited in scholarly literature as a symbol of the decline that the women's movement had gone through since the end of WWII (Clements 2008; Pugh 2000; Caine 1997; Banks 1993; Meehan 1990).

Box 1: The Fawcett Society and the Six Point Group

The Fawcett Society (1860 -)

The Fawcett Society has its roots in the suffrage campaigns initiated by Millicent Fawcett in the 1860s after whom the society was renamed in 1953. The Fawcett Society has always been primarily involved in equality legislation. It played an important role in drafting the anti-sex discrimination bill in the early 1970s and lobbied successfully for the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission (see box 3). Today the Fawcett society claims to be “the UK's leading campaign for equality between women and men, [...campaigning] on women's representation in politics and public life; pay, pensions and poverty; valuing caring work; and the treatment of women in the justice system” (Fawcett Society 2008).

The Six Point Group (1921 – 1983)

The Six Point Group was created in 1921 with the aim of achieving equality for women in the political, occupational, moral, social, economic and legal spheres. In the 1940s it was closely involved in the Equal Compensation Campaign and in the Equal Pay Campaign Committee to obtain equal pay in the civil service. It continued its involvement in these matters up until 1956, when equal pay in public services was finally achieved (Banks 1993). The group was also actively involved in the protest for a change in the Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act to

¹⁹⁷ The Women's Freedom League was funded in 1907 to “secure for Women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and thereby to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community” (Women's Freedom League 1909)

give married women more financial protection, and in the 1960s it played an active part in the co-ordination of other women's groups campaigning around this issue. The inability to recruit younger women eventually led its demise in 1983 (Caine 1997).

Pugh (2000) views the decline of participation and interest in the 'older' generation of feminist organizations as a *natural* process of evolution, with younger generations of women organizing around more appealing and topical issues. Banks (1993), on the other hand, claims that it was the conservative tendency of the movement in the 1950s and 1960s that *provoked* younger generations of feminists to react and rebel against the traditionalist ideology of femininity and 'feminine roles' which the 'older' women's movement kept perpetuating. The new movement, she suggests, "was much more radical than the old movement, more theoretical and, above all, more confident" (Banks 1993: 23). Whichever perspective one takes on the connection between the earlier campaigns and the ones that were carried out in the late 1960s, it is generally agreed that the women's movement of the 1970s distinguished itself from earlier periods and represented the most important flowering of the British women's movement since the pre-1914 suffrage campaign¹⁹⁸ (Smith 2001; Pugh 2000; Caine 1997; Banks 1993; Meehan 1990). In this respect, an important aspect to consider in relation to the changes in the women's movement in the late 1960s is the broader geo-political context in which these took place. Those years were characterized by the birth of new left social movements all over the world, including the civil rights movement in the USA, the campaigns against the war in Vietnam and against nuclear weapons, and the women's liberation movement in the USA (Pugh 2000). This radical activity had a major impact on Britain, as Bruley puts it, "to kindle a flame that was already alight" (1999: 148).

¹⁹⁸ It is interesting to note that *Spare Rib*, the feminist magazine that was launched in 1972 (see box 2) tried to revive the legacy of 'first wave' feminism and stressed the link between feminists in the 1970s and the movement's campaigns in the 19th/20th century (Caine 1997). This perspective, however, was not supported by everyone. In their works, for example, prominent feminists such as Sheila Rowbotham and Juliet Mitchell sought to minimize this link, asserting the differences in aims and origins of the two movements (Caine 1997)

4.2. The Women's Movement from 1968-1979

“Women's liberation was reformist and revolutionary. It was a source of political energy, a developing body of theory, a battleground, a sisterhood” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 51).

While the ‘older’ generation of feminists celebrated the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage in 1968, both in that same year and the following, a number of important events contributed to the injection of new and radical energy into British feminism and the women's movement (Bruley 1999).

In 1968, women working at the Ford car factory in Dagenham started a strike over equal pay and almost stopped production at all UK Ford plants. In 1969, a group of fishermen's wives began organizing in the port city of Hull to improve safety conditions on the trawlers (Bruley 1999). The actions of these women, mainly from a working class background, acted as a catalyst for the British women's movement, leading to the growing militancy of women around the issue of equal pay (Bouchier 1984). In 1969, women's trade unionists formed the National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women's Equal Rights and organized a national demonstration for equal pay that was later hailed as the first major event of second wave feminism (Bruley 1999). A year later, the Equal Pay Act was passed granting equal wages for women and men doing the same work.¹⁹⁹ Many contest the idea that the Act came as a direct consequence of the actions of the women's movement (Pugh 2000; Bouchier 1984). However, its passing provided a stimulus to socialist feminists in particular, and it contributed to the emergence of the women's movement at large (Nash 2002; Lovenduski and Randall 1993; Rowbotham, 1989; Coote and Campbell 1987).

Before proceeding in the exploration of the main events of this period, it is important to point out that the main constituency of the Women Liberation Movement (WLM hereafter) of the 1970s had little to do with the working class women who had made their protests in the late 1960s. The women who joined the liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the UK were mainly from the post-war baby boom, aged between 20 and 35, mostly white, middle-class and

¹⁹⁹ It did not take long, however, before employers found ways of maintaining unequal pay by employing more women in ‘women's work’, paid at lower rates.

beneficiaries of post-war social changes and economic development (Pugh 2000; Philips 1987). Many could go to university and apply for jobs, hence developed an awareness that “control over entry into careers still lay in the hands of men” (Pugh 2000: 314). They were also mostly disaffected from politics and the possible changes that could be obtained through institutionalized reforms. After the end of the Conservative rule in 1964, the hopes they had put in the new government were replaced by a diffused sense of disillusionment with the Labour government too. Indeed, despite important bills being passed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, “reform fed the growing expectations of women without satisfying them” (Pugh 2000: 313).²⁰⁰ And as we will see, “women’s liberation was on the whole inclined to seek solutions outside the male-dominated institutions of British politics” (Pugh 2000: 314).

In the years between 1968 and 1970, many small women’s liberation groups were spontaneously formed across the country, generated from a variety of different motivations and interests (Coppock, Haydon et al. 1995), often “based on locality, occupation or existing political allegiances” (Byrne 1996: 58). Intimate citizenship issues were at the heart of their meetings.

They discussed their day-to-day experiences, and their feelings about themselves, their jobs, their husbands, their lovers, their children and their parents. [...] What was new was that they were now drawing political conclusions from their personal experiences. (Coote and Campbell 1987: 5)

‘Consciousness raising’ was the term used to describe the new awareness that women developed when they started acknowledging the political significance of their personal experiences (Coote and Campbell 1987).

The first time that many of these women’s groups met in the same place was in February 1970; a group, formed of radical historians and members of Ruskin College’s History Workshop, organized a conference in Oxford (Bruley 1999). Many agree that out of this meeting, the Women’s Liberation Movement in Britain emerged (Pugh 2000; Gamman and O’Neil 1990; Coote and Campbell 1987; Rowbotham 1972). The conference directly addressed many intimate citizenship issues. It:

²⁰⁰ For example, the 1968 Abortion Act, the 1969 Divorce Law, the 1970 Equal Pay Act, the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, etc.

provided a clear demonstration of the strength of radical politics among feminists. Proclaiming sexual contradictions, over class, as being the primary force in the organization of society, the conference demanded substantive research into women's history and alternatives to the nuclear family and conventional childrearing practices. It established campaigns for free contraception, a full right to abortion and an end, through legislation, to all forms of sex discrimination. (Coppock et al 1995: 15)

Later that year, the newly formed Women's National Co-ordinating Committee formally announced the four basic demands that had been approved by the women who had met at the conference in Oxford. These were: 1) equal pay; 2) equal education and job opportunities; 3) free contraception and abortion on demand; 4) free 24-hour nurseries. The first two were seen as more 'orthodox' and generally acceptable, whereas the last two were soon to cause much controversy (Nitsche 2003).

1970 was also the year of another important event, the "first experiment with civil disobedience" (Coote and Campbell 1987: 15). In November, about one hundred women infiltrated and disrupted the annual Miss World competition at the Albert Hall in London, carrying placards reading: "Miss-fortune demands equal pay for women, Miss-conception demands free abortion for all women, Miss-placed demands a place outside the home" (*Shrew* 1970: 16, 17; quoted in British Library 2008). The protest was one of the many events that attracted negative media coverage distorting the demonstrators' message and aims (Coote and Campbell 1987). Partly as a way of confronting the biased media portrayal of women's liberation, *Spare Rib* was launched in 1972 (Bell 1975). It soon became one of the most prominent feminist magazines, arguably providing "the only comprehensive focus relating to different elements within the movement" (Gelb 1986: 108) (see box 2).

Box 2: Feminist publications in the 1970s

Many feminist publications came into circulation during the 1970s. They became one of the main vehicles for women's liberation by providing a new space for discussion that could be accessed all over the country (Pugh 2000). Magazines included *Shrew* (1969-74), *Red Rag* (1972-80), *Women's Report* (1972-79), *Sappho* (1972-1981), *Spare Rib* (1972-1994), and *FOWAAD* (1979-1982). *Wires* was the newsletter of the Women's Liberation Movement National Information Service, and there were also various local newsletters produced by the many women's liberation

groups across the country. Academic journals, including *Sign* (1975) and *Feminist Review* (1979 -), and small commercial publishers, such as the Virago Press, the Women's Press, Sheba, and the Onlywomen Press, all contributed to raising the profile of women's liberation in the country (Pugh 2000).

In 1971, a second WLM conference was held in which the newly formed national coordinating committee was disbanded, having had time, however, to organize a very successful international women's day march in London.²⁰¹

The march [...] was the largest International Women's Day event since the Suffragette era, and made a big media splash. Quite different from the macho male left demonstrations of the time, it highlighted contemporary feminists' major concerns: contraception and abortion; our treatment as sex objects; our invisible oppression as housewives. (Garthwaite, Oral History Project, OHP hereafter, Interview 7; quoted in Feminist Archive North 2008b)

In 1974, at the national WLM's conference in Edinburgh, two more intimate citizenship-related demands were adopted in addition to the original four. The fifth, called for the legal and financial independence of all women; and the sixth, to put an end to discrimination against lesbians and the right to a self-defined sexuality. The 1975 national conference in Manchester was dominated by another intimate citizenship issue, that of violence against women. It was on this occasion that the WLM agreed to create a national body, the *National Women's Aid Federation (NWAf)*, to coordinate the fight against domestic violence. The feminist publicity and campaigns on the issue generated a broad public debate that was soon taken up at the political level with concrete policy results. A year later, in fact, the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act was passed, making it easier for wives and cohabiting women to obtain an injunction restraining an abusive husband or (male) partner (Coote and Campbell 1987) (see also part II of this report).

²⁰¹ The Women's National Co-ordinating Committee (WNCC) was created in 1970 at the national conference in Oxford as a loose co-ordinating body for the WLM. "It was felt that the movement had already grown sufficiently to need a national structure in order to co-ordinate the increasingly diverse activities of women's groups around the country" (Scarlet Women Collective 1977: 5; quoted in Feminist Archive North 2008a). Soon enough, however, the committee degenerated into sectarian squabbles failing "to keep in touch with the politics of the developing movement" (Delmar 1973: 8, 9; quoted in Feminist Archive North 2008a).

Furthermore, the mid 1970s saw the passing of another important piece of legislation: the 1975 Sexual Discrimination Act (SDA hereafter) (see box 3). Disappointingly however, just as had happened before with the Equal Pay Act, loopholes in the system made it too difficult to implement the SDA (Pugh 2000). Nevertheless, Bruley maintains, while both the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act did not create large-scale social changes, they contributed to the generation of a climate in which women could make advances (1999).

Box 3: the SDA and the EOC

The Sexual Discrimination Act is one of the three main pieces of equality legislation of the 1970s (which include the 1976 Race Relations Act, and the previously mentioned 1970s Equal Pay Act). It contributed to changing the approach to equal opportunities in the UK by prohibiting both direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of gender and marital status (Fredman 1997; Lovenduski and Randall 1993).²⁰²

Another important innovation, introduced by the SDA, was the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), which was responsible for monitoring equality law and making recommendations for changes, if and when needed. Soon after it was set up, the EOC came under attack for failing to make use of its law-enforcement powers (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). The political strength of the EOC increased in the 1980s when, taking advantage of the influence of equality policy in the European Community, it progressively became a crucial actor in this legislative arena (Lovenduski and Randall 1993; Coote and Campbell 1987).

The 1976 and 1977 national Women's Liberation Movement conferences were characterised by fierce disagreements, especially on the intimate citizenship issues of rape and other forms of violence against women (Caine 1997; Coote and Campbell 1987) (see also part II of this report). At the 1978 conference in Birmingham, the differences around these issues had become so bitter that no one offered to organise a conference the following year (Coote and Campbell 1987), as explained by the following participants:

The difficulties we have talking to each other, sharing experiences, analysing ideas, and discussing our differences, were horribly fit up [sic] at the Birmingham Conference [...]. It is clear that the polarization and hostilities that

²⁰² The SDA did not protect unmarried people in the same way.

emerged left many women feeling outsiders, and demoralized. (Catcall Collective 1979: 2; quoted in Feminist Archive North 2008c)

"[There were] two strands to the conference [...] and I still think that was quite a good suggestion really, but the revolutionary feminist group in London were not keen on the 'how do we oppress each other' angle and the socialist feminists didn't like the 'who oppresses us' and I think the groups that felt particularly oppressed themselves just wanted to concentrate on that. So there were all these different elements and then there was this mass of women who always pour in to a conference, so it was a right old mixture. (Garthwaite OHP Interview 7; quoted in Feminist Archive North 2008c)

In the midst of the debates of the 1978 national WLM conference, a seventh demand, the last, was approved:

We demand freedom for all women from intimidation by the threat or use of violence or sexual coercion regardless of marital status; and an end to the laws, assumptions and institutions which perpetuate male dominance and aggression to women. (Feminist Archive North 2008c)

Caine (1997) argues that the rows and disagreements that eventually led to the demise of the WLM should not be surprising, especially when one considers the breadth of the issues that were included under the rubric of women's liberation. This "was intended to encompass every aspect of women's lives, and hence constantly brought to the fore the vast differences amongst those women on behalf of whom the movement attempted to speak" (Caine 1997: 264).

One of the strongest ideological confrontations within the WLM was that between radical/revolutionary and socialist feminists. The former identified men and male violence as the main cause of women's oppression, and saw the "family as the key institution for maintaining male control. [They] believed that only the ending of the tyranny of the family role would achieve real freedom" (Pugh 2000: 324). Radical/revolutionary feminists also maintained that women's liberation would be possible only once women acquired consciousness of their oppression at the hands of men (Caine 1997). As Sheila Jeffreys, a revolutionary feminist stated:

Consciousness is the basis of the revolutionary struggle of women. Its purpose is the development of revolutionary anger and strength with others with whom we can't take political action. Its method [...] involves the pooling of the collective experiences of women, in small personal groups, in order to analyse the structures of our oppression and the best way to fight them. (Jeffreys 1978: 21; quoted in Caine 1997: 266)

On the other hand, in their analysis of the patriarchal system, socialist feminists attributed the causes of the unbalanced status quo to capitalism (Pugh 2000). They were committed to “locate women’s liberation within a wider goal of social transformation and the end of an exploitative class structure” (Caine 1997: 265) – changes that would have entailed participating in political action, or at least addressing the political system directly.

Another critical issue of contention was the relationship between sexuality and feminism. Some revolutionary feminists maintained that women’s liberation could be achieved only away from and against men. This meant curtailing relationships with men in order to safeguard women’s political and personal autonomy (Coote and Campbell 1987). The notion of political lesbianism emerged from this approach, and with it a harsh and often aggressive criticism of heterosexuality as a socially compulsory sexual practice that women are never in the condition to freely choose – as opposed to the ‘real’ choice of lesbianism (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Lovenduski and Randall (1993) claim that the best articulation of the position of so-called ‘political lesbianism’ had been made in a 1979 publication by the Leeds Revolutionary Feminists, *Political lesbianism: the case against heterosexuality*, in which they declared that sexuality was at the crux of women’s oppression, and that only lesbians could be real feminists, “because only lesbians chose other women sexually, only lesbians were truly women-centred” (1993: 71) (see also part II).²⁰³ As Coote and Campbell point out, it is important to note that

it is a common misconception that the radical-socialist divide reflected a split between lesbians and heterosexuals. This was not so. [...] Lesbians did not all think that men were the enemy, any more than heterosexual women all thought men were ideal comrades and life partners. A considerable number of heterosexuals espoused the radical feminist cause, while many lesbians were committed socialist feminists. (1987: 23)

Just as sexuality became a central issue within the WLM, ‘race’ and ethnicity were also being brought onto the feminist agenda by Black women. In 1978, Bhavnani and Parmar (in an article that *Spare Rib* refused to publish) wrote that the WLM had not considered the issue of ‘race’ and racism in relation to women’s lives, and as a result, its campaigns, demands, and objectives had simplistically alienated and dismissed the experiences of minoritized women (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Black women claimed that “it just didn’t make any sense for us to be talking

²⁰³ Reprinted in 1981 in *Love Your Enemy?*, an edited collection by Onlywomen Press.

about changing life styles and attitudes, when we were dealing with issues of survival, like housing, education and police brutality” (Bryan et al 1985: 148; quoted in Burley 1999: 152). They demanded recognition of their presence and different concerns which could not be simplistically reduced by the white middle-class notion of ‘sisterhood’ (Lovenduski and Randall 1993), and for this reason they organized their own separate groups and associations (see box 4).

Box 4: Black Women’s organizations

One of the first official Black women groups in the UK was formed in Brixton, London, in 1973. It discussed issues of racial and sexual discrimination, women’s work, child care and economic dependence to men (Coote and Campbell 1987). As one of its members stated:

We were very wary of charges that we might be ‘splitting the black struggle’ or mobilizing in vacuum, or imitating middle-class white women. These were the kinds of criticism Black men were making. [...] But it was so good to be in a group which wasn’t hostile and didn’t fight all the time. The sense of autonomy, or woman-purpose was something everybody felt. (Bryan, Dadzie et al 1985; quoted in Coote and Campbell 1987: 30)

In the same period, Asian women founded *Awaz*, *Asian Women Aid Zone*. This organisation mainly campaigned over immigration issues, including the sexual harassment of Asian women at airports (so-called ‘virginity testing’), but also:

to ensure that the limited number of women and children who are allowed entry [in the UK] can actualize this right. They have also struggled to ensure that a woman who comes as a dependent of a male worker and who subsequently finds herself unable to live with him, is not deported by the state – which does not give a woman any independent political right of existence here. (Trivedi 1984: 45)

As Wilson (1985) writes about *Awaz*’s activities,

we also organized a major national demonstration against state racism, and we supported women in struggles at work and were involved in setting up an Asian women’s refuge. [...] In most of these things we worked with other groups – long established ones like the Indian Worker’s Association of Great Britain, black women’s groups and the then newly formed and very male dominated Asian

youth movements. (1985, quoted in Coote and Campbell 1987: 31)

By the 1980s, many Asian women's groups started dealing with domestic violence within their own communities, and have since then devoted many of their resources to this issue.

One of the first Black women's groups to organize at the national level was the *Organization of Women of Asian and African Descent (OWAAD)*, formed in 1978. "It presented as a possibility a chance [*sic*] for Black women from all over England to meet with each other, share ideas and give help and support to what each other were doing" (Brixton Black Women's Group 1984: 84). *OWAAD* also launched *FOWAAD* a newsletter used for women to know what other women were doing, and to ask for practical support, when needed. "An example of this was the protest over the use of virginity tests at ports of entry. As soon as we were alerted to the use of this offensive practice on Asian women, *OWAAD* organized a sit-in protest and picket at Heathrow Airport" (Brixton Black Women's Group 1984: 84).

Despite initial enthusiasm for *OWAAD*, the idea behind it – that many diverse women could be united under the unifying category of 'Black women' – soon proved to be impossible. Furthermore, "the failure both to discuss the differences and develop a way forward for *OWAAD* was illustrative of our inability to explain the historical trajectory of *OWAAD* and to integrate a feminist analysis into our practice, whilst retaining socialism as our major foundation stone" (Brixton Black Women's Group 1984: 85). Strained under too many incompatibilities, *OWAAD* eventually came to end in 1982.

The demise of *OWAAD* did not constitute the end of Black feminism, which on the contrary found new vigour and self-confidence in the early 1980s (Bruley 1999). By 1984 black women started becoming a part of the editorial collective of *Spare Rib*, and in the same year *Feminist Review* edited a special issue by and about black women. Progressively, the polarization between white feminism and the black women's movement diminished.

As of 2008, ethnic minority women's organizations have grown across the UK. Many do not identify with feminist politics, being more centred around the notion of women's rights and anti-racism (Siddiqui 2000). The vast majority (including Asian, Latin American, Chinese, Muslim, Iranian/Kurdish and other women's associations) remain primarily active in the provision of services for women victims of domestic violence. Some, however, also play a crucial role in advising the government on violence-related issues, as well as immigration policies. On the other hand, African and African-Caribbean women in Britain organize mainly around issues of anti-racism, domestic violence, and HIV/AIDS. In particular, *Forward* – which was founded in 1983 in the UK, but is now an international organization – promotes actions on gender-based violence, specifically female genital mutilation and child marriage.

Concluding remarks

The women's movement in Britain is often characterized as distinctive because it never enjoyed a centralized national organization (compared, for example, to the National Organization of Women in the USA), and for being constituted of many locally and institutionally specific groups (Bashevkin 1996; Byrne 1996; Gelb 1989; Dahlerup 1986).²⁰⁴ In this respect, the relatively brief,

²⁰⁴ There are a few national women's organizations in the UK, which, however, have never been considered to be representative of the movement as a whole. The *Women's National Commission* (WNC) was formed in 1969, and has since remained "a small, low profile, advisory agency" (Lovenduski 1995: 114). As far as intimate citizenship issues are concerned, the WNC has specific working groups on violence against women and on migration and asylum. The former is aimed at promoting understanding and awareness of violence against women and laws and policies addressing it. The Migration and Asylum Group is aimed at responding to national and regional consultations and channelling this information to the Government (WNC 2009). Another national association is *NAWO*, the *National Alliance of Women's Organization*, formed in 1989. It is an umbrella body for over 100 organizations, based in England. With its three sister organizations based in Scotland, the Northern Ireland, and Wales, it forms the *UK Joint Committee on Women* (UKJCW), which in turn "co-ordinates a UK view" with respect to the European Women's Lobby (NAWO 2008). NAWO's aim is to "ensure that women's voices are heard and attended to nationally, in Europe and internationally; [and that] gender is mainstreamed throughout all government policies and in their implementation" (NAWO 2008). NAWO's website is currently being updated. The previous website version available in January 2009 included activities dating back to 2004 when the organization was involved in consultations on proposed legislations on trafficking and on prostitution.

yet revolutionary, existence of the Women's Liberation Movement, represents a unique moment in the history of the movement, when many differently sized groups came together under the banner of the WLM, to be part of a collective experience and struggle (Coote and Campbell 1987). Perhaps most distinctive about the WLM was the practice of consciousness-raising in these small, local groups, where personal issues were perceived as political.

As noted above, the WLM formulated a total of seven demands during its yearly national conferences. These, as agreed in the 1978 National Conference in Birmingham, were as follows:

we assert a woman's right to define her own sexuality and demand [...]: equal pay for equal work; equal opportunity and equal education; free contraception and abortion on demand; free community controlled child care; legal and financial independence of all women; an end to all discrimination against lesbians; freedom for all women from intimidation by threat or use of violence or sexual coercion, regardless of marital status. An end to all laws, assumptions and institutions that perpetuate male dominance and men's aggression towards women. (Radford 1995: 62)

Coote and Campbell (1987) explain that through these demands women were both demanding justice and equality, and declaring their willingness to fight to "change the cultural, social and economic systems which expressed and maintained male supremacy" (1987: 51). Deeply disillusioned with the political system, they were inclined to by-pass it: "Women's liberation operated as a loose, decentralised affair relying on local initiatives and focussed on the development of alternative societies as much as on direct attempts to reform the male-dominated system" (Pugh 2000: 319). In the event, the seven demands never amounted to a national programme, and each local group could approach them in their own way (Pugh 2000). And they did so by employing a range of different campaigning methods: from marches and demonstrations, to acts of 'civil disobedience', strikes, co-operation with trade unions, the formation of a feminist 'press', and even the provision of services, through the creation of refuges and rape-crisis centres.

Certainly a striking feature of this decade is that from its very beginning those who identified with the WLM were not all subscribing to the same understandings of patriarchy and inequalities; quite the contrary. The whole history of the women's movement in the 1970s was characterized

by virulent ideological clashes – between socialist and radical feminists, Black women and what was seen as the ‘white sisterhood’, lesbians and heterosexual women, separatists and non-separatists, etc. Nevertheless, whilst undoubtedly many different splits and frictions characterized the women’s movement of the 1970s, its campaigns, demands and activities brought forward many positive changes. These are clearly illustrated in the following quote which is even more significant if one takes into consideration that none of these initiatives had existed a decade earlier:

[By the late 1970s], a typical provincial city in England will have one or more active consciousness-raising groups; a women’s centre; a shelter for battered women; a rape crisis centre; a branch of the National Abortion Campaign; a nursery campaign or cooperative; a lesbian group or nightline; a health group; one or several arts groups; one or more groups for socialist women; a revolutionary feminist group; a bookshop; one or more newsletters. In addition, depending on local interests, a number of still more specialized small groups may emerge from time to time (Rock Against Sexism; Rock Against Racism and Fascism; Girls Against Sexism; Working Class Women, Women Opposed to the Nuclear Threat).²⁰⁵ (Bouchier 1984: 179)

4.3. The Women’s Movement in the 1980s

In a similar way to the previous decade, the 1980s represented a moment of substantial change for the women’s movement in the UK. According to Lovenduski and Randall (1993), while radical and socialist feminism “kept rumbling on” into the new decade, something akin to ‘liberal feminism’ became more influential (1993: 7). They explain that:

‘liberal’ feminists [...] believed that liberation (a term that they did not actually use) was a matter of removing obstacles to equality between the sexes. Once institutional and legal barriers to equality were gone, women could, if they wanted to, take up the same social roles as men. Accordingly, they concentrated their efforts on obtaining legal and procedural changes to eliminate unfair discrimination against women. (1993: 65)

In addition to the growth of ‘liberal feminism’, in the 1980s the women’s movement also saw the evolution of new interests and campaigns, as well as the strengthening of others that had started to emerge in the previous years. For example, black women’s organizations and the women’s peace movement – focused around the Greenham Common Women’s Peace Camp – intensified

²⁰⁵ Women Opposed to the Nuclear Threat did not begin until 1981.

their activities and grew in number and autonomy (Pugh 2000; Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Furthermore, a new militancy around issues of working conditions led to the unprecedented actions of miners' and fishermen's wives, and other women workers across the country (see box 5).

Box 5: Some women's actions in support of the 1980s strikes

Women Against Pit Closures and *Women of the Waterfront* are just two of the many national networks that were formed by women in the mid 1980s to support their male partners' striking across the country. There were few links between these women organizations and the feminist movement, however this sudden uprising of working class women had a profound impact on the awakening of their political consciousness, both in the public and private sphere (Bruley 1999).²⁰⁶ As Byrne (1996) explains, the significance of these initiatives was not so much the impact on the policy issue involved as "the reinvigoration it gave to women's belief in their capacity for autonomous direct action" (1996: 62).

All these occurrences need to be understood within the political context of the period. From 1979 to 1997, Britain has been under conservative rule with three consecutive Tory governments, led by the first woman Prime Minister in the country, Margaret Thatcher. As *Spare Rib* commented in 1979, "one prime minister doesn't make a matriarchy" (*Spare Rib* 1979; quoted in Pugh 2000: 335), and indeed the Conservatives and their leader proved to be particularly hostile to the women's movement and its demands (Pugh 2000; Bashevkin 1996; Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Thatcherism and much of the women's movement were in conflict over a number of issues, including: "questions of right versus left, individualism versus collectivism, and marketism versus intervention – as well as divergent views of traditional social values" (Bashevkin 1996: 526).

Interestingly, it was in this hostile climate that feminist groups became increasingly involved in governmental agencies. Excluded from state influence and unable to protect social welfare policies under threat, the women's movement started to engage more actively and effectively

²⁰⁶ There were, however, strong links between *Women Against Pit Closures* and the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.

with the Labour party, and found space for political participation at the local/municipal level (Bashevkin 1996). This type of involvement – which was very much in line with the women’s movement’s support for the decentralization of state power – has been called ‘municipal feminism’, and was most visible in the Greater London Council Women’s Committee (Beckwith 2003; Bashevkin 1996; Lovenduski and Randall 1993; Coote and Campbell 1987) (see box 6). A similar process also took place within the unions. Women campaigned for a change of attitude towards the Trade Union Congress (TUC) Women’s Conference, for it to be treated more as a serious political forum. They also mobilised in their own individual unions, achieving, in most cases, the adoption of new policies on equal rights, maternity provision and sexual harassment in the workplace. The creation of the TUC Equal Rights Department in 1988 is seen as indicative of their success in this area (Byrne 1996).

Box 6: Women’s Committees in Local Authorities

Local Authority Women’s Committees were formed primarily as a result of pressure by socialist feminists active in the Labour Party and trade unions. However, radical and liberal feminists were also involved, and often the Committees “saw their task as facilitating the mobilisation of women from all wings of the movement” (Byrne 1996: 63).

The Greater London Council Women’s Committee was the first to be formed in 1982, when the GLC was under Labour and led by Ken Livingstone. This London Committee is still considered one of the most ambitious, with a consultative meeting attended by more than 500 women, and a conspicuous budget to fund a number of different projects (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). The other Committees across the country were also formed in Labour-controlled authorities. They sought to influence both internal practices of local authorities (such as conditions of employment and appointment procedures) and service provision in child-care, women’s health, and domestic violence (Byrne 1996). The politics of the Committees were also shaped by an emphasis on issues of ‘race’, class, disability, age and sexuality. “This was based not so much on a new theoretical analysis of where the roots of oppression lay, as on a critique of the white, middle-class character of the women’s movement of the 1970s [...]. The Women’s Committees represented a move from the private into the public sphere, from autonomy to a new relationship with established state power” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 107, 108).

Many of these Committees did not survive into the 1990s, “not least because of high profile criticism from both the Conservative [and Labour] Party and the media over decisions to fund lesbian groups” (Byrne 1996: 63), but also as a result of the new Local Government Act in 1985 which abolished ‘metropolitan’ authorities that had been a ‘thorn in the side’ of the Conservative government (Lovenduski and Randall 1993).

The movement’s direct participation in politics – albeit almost exclusively at the local level and as part of the trade unions – raised concerns about its demands and approaches being too ‘radical’ to be incorporated into mainstream politics (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). This surfaced in particular after the Labour-led GLC funded some lesbian projects. Some Labour party members were not supportive of this initiative, and were anxious that they would loose support due to the party’s allegiance to a ‘bunch of deviants’ who gave it the image of the ‘loony left’ (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Tobin (1990) argues that this attitude betrayed the fact that, despite taking on board equality strategies and units, Labour politicians never had the slightest idea what this actually meant:

There had been no real organic growth of feminist, Black or gay politics within the Labour movement. The new politics were forced upon an often unwilling and certainly unenthusiastic Labour Party by socialists who were also feminist, by socialists who were also Black and by socialists who were also gay. (Tobin 1990: 58)

Lovenduski and Randall (1993) maintain that the growing presence of feminists in mainstream institutions that had not come to terms with feminist politics, or equality strategies, eventually led to the “decline and deradicalization of the British women’s movement” itself (1993: 15). Griffin (1995) explains that this ‘decline’ also resulted from the fact that the majority of funds for women’s organizations started to come from local government and European institutions which fostered particular arenas of service provision. This meant that most of the energy of women working in women’s organizations had to be devoted to service provision and grant applications for funding, leaving little time for campaigning activities. “If all one’s energies are absorbed in service provision, political energies may be dissipated and result in acquiescent organizations which have no time to do political work” (Griffin 1995: 8). Furthermore, this focus on service provision – which also characterized the women’s movement in the 1990s – had become a way of:

containing women, utilizing their energies and services to help the state deal with its responsibilities towards women, while avoiding the need to address the political and social issues underlying the conditions that necessitate the service in the first place. (Griffin 1995: 8)

Concluding remarks

The picture that emerges from most accounts of the women's movement of the 1980s is one of confusion, decline, disintegration, de-radicalization, and de-politicization. It cannot go unnoticed, however, that while indeed the older 'bastions' of the movement were crumbling by the early 1990s – *Spare Rib* and other newsletters, for example, ceased publication, old networks were breaking down, etc – new anti-establishment actions were being carried out by a number of autonomous women's groups which had their roots in the WLM. The campaigns against pornography (further discussed in part II of this report), for example, were very active during the 1980s, adopting both 'conventional' methods, such as lobbying of Parliament, demonstrations, picketing of retailers of pornographic magazines, and 'guerrilla attacks' to sex shops and pornographic cinemas (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). The Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common is further evidence of the proliferation of autonomous feminist groups in the 1980s (Beckwith 2003). As Roseneil (2000) comments:

the social networks, political spaces and ideas of the women's liberation movement made Greenham possible [...], the women's liberation movement had underlined the importance of women-only social spaces. It was the availability of this idea which provoked Greenham's transformation from a small women-led but mixed peace camp, into a large, open women-only community and movement. (2000: 33)

Indeed, the women's movement experienced major changes during the 1980s. The 'old' method of direct feminist action continued, but this time not bound by specifically gender issues. By then, a feminist analysis and activism had developed around issues which were wider than those articulated by the WLM in the 1970s (Bagguley 2002; Byrne 1996). Furthermore, the 'political turn' of many women represented a major change of direction. It may not have necessarily born immediate fruits, but at least it gave public and policy credibility to feminist activists who progressively gained legitimacy with central government (Bashevkin 1996).

4.4. The Women's Movement from the 1990s to the New Millennium

One of the aspects that characterizes the accounts and analyses of the women's movement in the 1990s – and also in the new millennium – is the divergence over its effectiveness, unity and impacts. One major point of disagreement concerns the very existence of a movement. Many argue that, while the women's movement is either dead or rapidly dying, feminist activism has not undergone the same 'fate' and it is very much 'alive and kicking' (Rowbotham 1997; Griffin 1995). Coward (1999), in the controversial book *Sacred Cows*, argues that whilst feminism is still very powerful in both social and political institutions (to the extent that it damages men and their right for equality), a women's movement has certainly ceased to exist in Britain. The reason for this is that a women's movement in a context in which women are no longer in a position of disadvantage, is simply doomed to implode. Walter (1998), on the other hand, maintains that both feminist activities and a women's movement still existed in Britain in the 1990s. The latter,

is not a mass movement that marches to one drumbeat, but a large collection of single-issue organizations that press for feminist aims in many different accents. [...] These organizations testify to a living feminism in Britain, one that gives the lie to the pessimistic pronouncements of most commentators. (Walter 1998: 44)

It is not the point of this report to assess, or even validate, one or the other perspective. What is relevant here is, firstly, to emphasize the extent to which views on the women's movement have changed since the 1970s: from a widely acknowledged and identifiable presence, to an 'entity' that may not exist anymore. But also significant is that the literature unites in underscoring the importance of the multiplicity of single-issue feminist organizations that continue to thrive to this day. These organizations work "from the basis of a specific identification, whether this is in terms of sexual, geographical, ethnic, professional or an issue-based identity" (Griffin 1995: 4). As Griffin (1995) explains, such single identity feminist organizations "may have the drawback of overly localized politics but their very specificity can also be a guarantee for expertise and impact, for maximum, clearly defined effort within a specific arena" (1995: 3). Furthermore, organizations that come together around a specific identity may also work on a multiplicity of issues by virtue of their interconnectedness. What may be seen as the fragmentation of "feminist

activism into lots of discrete entities may thus be belied by the membership of those groups, with much more exchange and joint action occurring than is imagined” (Griffin 1995: 4).

As far as the issues addressed by the movement are concerned, some argue that by the 1990s its priorities became more politically focussed (Pugh 2000; Walter 1998). These included, for example, equal opportunities in employment, equal pay, child care and women’s health (Pugh 2000). Whilst indeed these issues acquired relevance, others, such as free contraception, legal and financial independence, abortion on demand, pornography and domestic violence, kept and keep being maintained at the core of the activities of many organizations, as further discussed in part II of this report.

Another important characteristic of the movement in the 1990s is the consolidation of the institutionalization of feminist demands, following the trend that had started in the 1980s. No longer the time of ‘municipal feminism’, however, the 1990s are the decade of ‘state feminism’, when “activities of government structures [...] are formally charged with furthering women’s status and rights” (Stetson and Mazur 1995: 1, 2).²⁰⁷ Some view such mainstreaming of gender equality as detrimental to the independence and effectiveness of the movement. Randall (2000), for example, claims that the model of state feminism “is all part of the steady trend [...] for local feminist activism to be first subsumed and subsequently replaced by voluntary or welfare work, funded by and accountable to local authorities” (2000: 140). More positively, Byrne (1996) explains that indeed the ‘public face’ of British feminism is quite different from the 1970s and 1980s – with women’s protests and demonstrations no longer prominent, nor even reported in the media – yet, “this is the time when women have made a real impact upon the mainstream politics of political parties, trade unions and local authorities” (Byrne 1996: 56). From a less enthusiastic, yet not necessarily pessimistic, perspective, Bagguley (2002) argues that “the shift of activism from mobilizing people, from public protest to bureaucratic struggles to obtain funding to maintain organizations that provide services” shows that the women’s movement is still alive, but is a social movement in abeyance, i.e. “not actively confronting the social system, and [...]”

²⁰⁷ For example, Labour introduced quotas for women in 1990, and after it came into power in 1997 it set up the Women’s Unit (later renamed Women and Equality Unit, and now Government Equalities Office) to promote the interests of women in the policy-formation process (Squires and Wickham Jones 2002).

largely preoccupied with maintaining itself through service providing voluntary organizations, educational and intellectual activities and incorporation into elite politics” (Bagguley 2002: 169).

These different perspectives reflect the preoccupations with the issue of ‘women as agents for political change’ that characterized much of the discussions about the movement in the 1990s (Griffin 1995). As we progress towards the new millennium, new concerns are raised in the literature, academic and otherwise, on British feminism, i.e. whether we have now reached a phase of post-feminist disidentification and feminist disavowal (Livesey 2008; Tasker and Negra 2007; McRobbie 2004; Coppock, Hayden et al. 1995). Related to this, there is also the ‘older’ issue of whether a women’s movement exists at all in Britain today (Nash 2002).

A national, single (if structureless) body such as the WLM of the 1970s to which women felt they belonged (Coote and Campbell 1987) is today nowhere to be found in Britain; nor has it existed for nearly three decades. Nevertheless, as of 2010, there is still a very strong presence of women’s organizations. One only needs to search the web to find hundreds and hundreds of women’s organizations all over the country, both working at the grassroots level and lobbying nationally and supra-nationally (mainly at the European level). ‘*Women in London*’, for example, a directory of many (but not all) London-based women’s groups, lists more than a hundred organizations. Among them, we find newly formed groups, as well as others that have been in existence for many years now. Some examples include: *Abortion Rights*; the *Association for Improvements in the Maternity Services*; *Gemma*, the network of disabled lesbian and bi-sexual women; *Ashiana Network*, supporting young South Asian, Turkish and Iranian women; and the *English Collective of Prostitutes*. Many of them deal with intimate citizenship issues, such as abortion, violence against women, pornography, prostitution, but also with aspects related to women’s visibility in the media, support for women in business, etc. Many concentrate their activities on service provision, but also engage in lobbying, training, participation in governmental consultations, and have not shunned away from direct actions methods of campaigning.

In a 2007 article in *the Guardian*, Julie Bindel lamented the fact that ‘good old-fashioned’ feminist direct actions have now gone into disarray.²⁰⁸ However, direct action has never

²⁰⁸ Julie Bindel is a radical feminist, freelance journalist and political activist.

disappeared as a method of campaigning for women's organizations. It may be less prominent or frequent now, but it has repeatedly been used when women's rights are threatened (see also part II of this report). In May 2008, for instance, many women demonstrated and picketed in front of Parliament to successfully oppose the proposed reduction to the time limit for abortion. Moreover, as Bindel (2007) herself acknowledges, in the past few years more and more women have participated in the annual *Reclaim The Night* marches (2007).²⁰⁹ Also successful have been the demonstrations organized since July 2007 in support of *Southall Black Sisters* (SBS) when threatened by a loss of funding from its local council.

The campaign to '*Save Southall Black Sisters*' is a particularly interesting case because it highlights the changes that the advent of the internet have brought to the development of feminist action. SBS was highly successful also because it effectively made use of the networking power of the internet. SBS's *Facebook* group, for example, was joined by thousands of people who were regularly updated, informed about demonstrations, and reminded to sign e-petitions sent to the Prime Minister's Office.

The web has provided new means of interaction, networking and visibility to most feminist organizations, and has opened up new possibilities for the diffusion of feminist publications, both virtual blogs and 'zines'. An example of the latter is the internet-based feminist magazine the *F-word*. Founded in 2001, the *F-word* is allegedly the largest and best maintained of the many, mostly small, British web-based feminist groups. The *F-word* does not engage directly in campaigning, but provides a virtual space for British feminists to exchange ideas and information (Dean 2007). In its 'resources' page it lists many links to British feminist activist organizations, networks or e-forums, as well as plenty of blogs, groups and 'zines' based in the UK, but also in the rest of the English-speaking world. The issues it covers are primarily about intimate citizenship: from the need to campaign for abortion rights in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, to "feminism and women of colour", to demonstrations against beauty contests for students, to finding a way of bridging the different feminist perspectives on pornography, and so on.

²⁰⁹ Reclaim the Night marches started in the UK in the 1970s. They give "women a voice and a chance to reclaim the streets at night on a safe and empowering event" (Reclaim the Night 2009).

Indeed the *F-word* is not necessarily representative of the entire women's movement in the UK today. However, after browsing it and the many other websites it is linked to, the claim of its editor – that it is from the flourishing cyberspace that feminists are now soldiering (Bindel 2007) – appears not too far from reality.

Concluding remarks

Walby (2002) suggests we should challenge the common perception that feminism today is in a phase of decline or in a state of abeyance, and start considering that in fact, it may have simply changed its repertoire and forms. She argues that there are four key dimensions that help us understand this position: 1) the shift of feminist activities from autonomous, anti-establishment groups, towards their mainstreaming within civil society and the state; 2) the fading of the ideological rift between socialist and radical feminists, and the increased prevalence of an equal rights and human rights discourse; 3) the increasing significance of the 'global level,' including European institutions and others such as the UN; and 4) the increased number of coalitions, alliances and networks "which engage with difference in a more nuanced way than either the earlier tightly knit groups based on 'identity' or the more traditional democratic and bureaucratic centralist forms" (2002: 536, 537). The historical review presented thus far shows how indeed these four dimensions have also characterized the development of the women's movement in Britain in the past decades. Moreover, an important aspect that emerges from this first section is that many different issues of intimate citizenship have been central, often at different times, to the demands and actions of the women's movement in the United Kingdom. Indeed, it was under the impetus of the women's movement that many traditionally gendered aspects in the regulation of intimate life have been challenged at their root, as part II of this report will further explore.

Part II: The Women's Movement and Intimate Citizenship

This part of the report explores in greater details the ways in which intimate life and intimate citizenship issues have been framed and addressed by the women's movement in Britain. The discussion is articulated around four main thematic headings, under which relevant intimate citizenship issues are listed and explored. The four headings are: 1) Partnership; 2) Reproductive Rights and Parenting; 3) Sexuality: identities and practices; and 4) Gender and Sexual Violence.

While the following sections cover the prolific activities of the British women's movement during the past forty years, considering the many intimate citizenship issues listed under the four headings, specific attention is dedicated to three aspects in particular: violence against women, abortion, and marriage. They were selected because they have been central to the demands and actions of the women's movement in the past decades. Moreover, their analysis highlights some of the major tensions that have marked the history of the movement: socialist feminists vs. radical feminists, 'black' vs. 'white' feminists, diversity vs. equality, and assimilation vs. difference. Lastly, these issues are representative of the transition of the politics of the movement from being primarily articulated around separatist and autonomous groups, to its engagement with the state and other institutions – including police forces, political parties, and trade unions – that contributed to the mainstreaming of these and other feminist issues.

Partnership

Marriage

Just as marriage rates rose to reach a peak in the early 1970s, the women's movement started condemning marriage and the 'traditional', heterosexual, monogamous family as oppressive patriarchal institutions, as exemplified in Barrett and McIntosh's (1982) *The anti social family*. This position represented a significant departure from those first wave feminists who had supported marriage and married life, whilst indeed it was much closer to those who, as previously explained, had been highly critical of the constraining and gendered institution of marriage, and who, in some instances, had also embraced 'spinsterhood' as a political choice (Somerville 2000;

Bruley 1999; Jeffreys 1982; Hamilton 1909).²¹⁰ The WLM denounced marriage as ‘bourgeois’, and the prevalent nuclear family “as repressive, stifling all spontaneity and fostering neuroses” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 269). Socialist feminists, drawing on Engels and utopian socialism, viewed the family sanctioned by marriage as an institution exploiting women’s domestic labour for the reproduction of capitalism (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). On the other hand, “marriage was for radicals what capitalism was for socialists, the real institutional source of exploitation. It destroyed the individuality of women and perverted the minds of children, while sustaining the patriarchal power of men” (Bouchier 1983: 78).

In turn, many Black women saw these uncompromising anti-family stances as patronizing and not applicable to the lives of Black women (Carby 1982). Firstly, many Black women argued that they were the main breadwinners in their households, hence did not financially depend on men (Somerville 2000). Secondly, the WLM approach to the family and marriage was seen as yet another attack on a social unit whose importance was sometimes being reclaimed by Black women. This was especially so in the socio-political context of the 1970s and 1980s, when ‘Black families’ were described at best as ‘anti-social’ and at worse incapable of disciplining young people and ‘breeding’ criminals (McGee 2005). “In the context of racist oppression, black families [...] can become not only a base for solidarity but also for struggle against racism” (Bhavnani and Coulson 1997: 60). Indeed, as Carby stated, “we would not wish to deny that the family can be a source of oppression for us but we also wish to examine how the black family has functioned as a prime source of resistance and oppression” (1982: 214).

By the mid 1980s, white feminists started acknowledging Black women’s position in relation to marriage and the family and progressively became less dogmatic in their dismissal of such institutions (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Some maintain that the ‘reappraisal of the family’ may have also resulted from the failure of many attempts to create alternative forms of non-hierarchical, communal and collective living arrangements (primarily by socialist feminists) which were in decline by the early 1980s (Pugh 2000; Lovenduski and Randall 1993). By that time, whilst they kept viewing the family and marriage with suspicion, many feminists started

²¹⁰ An example of this comes from Mary Stope’s *Married Life* (1918), in which, however, she supported a more equal distribution of labour in the household, and encouraged marriage as a companion-based relationship (Pugh 2000).

working on ways in which the heterosexual family could be more equal, by changing male attitudes and their gendered approach to family life.

In terms of demands, the women's movement has focussed primarily on the problems that emerge *from* marriage and family life, including the unequal division of labour and responsibility for child care, the exploitation of women's unpaid domestic labour, domestic violence, and rape in marriage (Finlay and Clarke 2003). More recently, the institution of marriage *per se* has been questioned in relation to debates about the introduction of so-called 'post-gender marriages' (Risman and Johnson-Summerford 1998).

In this respect, Jeffreys (2003) argues that for many years, the demand for institutional recognition of same-sex relationships was not an issue taken on by the women's movement. Whilst indeed lesbian same-sex couples were encouraged, particularly by radical feminists, the anti-marriage and anti-establishment political approach of the movement meant that no demands for institutional recognition of same-sex partnerships were advanced. As marriage was seen as a symbol of women's subordination, it simply did not make sense to claim it for lesbians (Jeffreys 2003).

At the beginning of the new millennium, when discussions about the introduction of same-sex marriage/civil partnership began in the UK, there was little feminist involvement in this issue. It was mainly LGBT pressure groups, with Stonewall at the forefront, that campaigned for the introduction of the institutional recognition of same-sex unions. Auchmuty (2007) claims that the acceptance of the Act by both homosexual and heterosexual feminists was met by either silent indifference or a belief that it was desirable; in both cases it entailed a retreat and betrayal of feminism itself. According to her, a 'real' feminist would not have accepted the Act, nor would they have supported any attempt to institutionalize same-sex relationships, thus falling into the alluring trap of heterosexual normativity. If lesbians have been complacent with the passing of the Act, it is also because they have been silenced by the lesbian and gay community where "the voices of gay men so often drown us out" (Auchmuty 2007: 113). Auchmuty's perspective is rather controversial, but it is in line with the argument, maintained by some, that from the late 1970s, a powerful male gay culture helped marginalize the gay liberation project of challenging and dismantling gender hierarchies (Jeffreys 2003). Also relevant is the fact that a number of intimate citizenship issues linked to LGBT sexuality – including that of same-sex partnership

recognition – have been, mostly successfully, pursued in the past decades by the LGBT movement (Weeks 2007).²¹¹ As noted above, the sexual libertarianism of parts of the lesbian and gay movement has not been supported by all feminists, some of whom saw it as a prevarication of gay male interests and/or as a move towards a politics of assimilation with heteronormative lifestyles (Auchmuty 2007; Jeffreys 2003).

Selfhood, financial autonomy, independence within relationships

The notion that a wife and husband are a single economic unit, whereby “married women are occupied in work which is vital though unpaid, without which their husbands could not do their paid work and without which the nation could not continue” came under significant attack in the 1970s (Beveridge 1942: 50; quoted in LWLC, London Women's Liberation Campaign for Legal and Financial Independence and Rights of Women, LWLC, 1979: 20).²¹² The *Campaign for Wages for Housework* was one of the first to try to undermine this status quo. As its name suggests, the Campaign demanded the retribution of housework, and claimed that the unwaged status of housewives kept them in an inferior status, both in the house and in society at large (Himmelweit and Mohun 1977). The Campaign initially attracted great enthusiasm, and organized its first demonstration in 1975. However, it was soon rejected by socialist and radical feminists who saw it as a way of reproducing and promoting the domestic role of women. It was thus consigned to a marginal part of the movement (Pugh 2000).

A different approach developed after the fifth demand for legal and financial independence of women was passed at the 1974 WLM national conference. The *London Women's Liberation Campaign for Legal and Financial Independence* (known as the ‘fifth demand group’) “started working on the tax, benefit and pension policies that treated husband and wife as a breadwinner-dependent couple with no need of separate incomes” (McIntosh 2001: 147). It gave evidence to parliamentary committees, official enquiries and relevant governmental bodies. It also produced a pamphlet that was widely distributed amongst women's groups, and in 1977 it launched the ‘YBA wife’ campaign. In 1981, ‘Don't Do It, Di’ badges were ubiquitous amongst feminists,

²¹¹ Not without internal disagreements (on the marriage vs. civil partnership debate see WP6 strand 2 report).

²¹² This quote is extracted from the 1942 Beveridge Report which proposed the first ‘universal’ plan for national insurance. The report, according to feminists at the time, sanctioned the notion that on marrying, a woman ceases to be a person at all (LWLC 1979).

when Lady Diana and Prince Charles's engagement was announced. *Rights of Women* (RoW), a group formed primarily of women legal-workers, was created in 1975 to promote change of the unequal legal position of women. It campaigned to ensure that "the rights of all women – married, single, cohabiting or not – to an independent income, must be regarded as of paramount importance" (LWLC 1979: 29).

As of 2010, many of the demands advocated by those supporting the fifth demand have been achieved. Nevertheless, there are still a number of organizations that continue to pursue the issue of gender inequalities in financial areas. The *Women's Budget Group* (WBG), for example, works "to expand understanding among policy makers and opinion formers of the gender implications of economic policy and the use of gender budget analysis" (WBG 2010). It does so by holding regular meetings with treasury officials and ministers, producing critiques of both pre-budget and budget reports, and ensuring that the latter have made use of a mainstreamed gender analysis in their expenses proposals (WBG 2010; McIntosh 2001). *Rights of Women*, is another very active organization. As noted earlier, it was funded in 1975 by women legal-workers "committed to changing the laws and legal system in order to make them more responsive to women's needs and interests (LWLC 1979). Today, it is a well-established feminist women's organisation, with over 200 members. As stated in its website, its activities include "preparing responses to policy documents from Government and other sources, organising conferences on women's rights, and holding public meetings". It has a broad remit, and today its activities have less to do with issues of financial independence and concern legal matters affecting women, including family law and domestic violence, and criminal law procedures in relation to sexual violence and immigration/ asylum law (RoW 2010).

Non-marital heterosexual relationships and cohabitation

The issues of non-marital heterosexual relationships and cohabitation were addressed by the women's movement in the 1970s in relation to the so-called 'cohabitation rule'. The cohabitation rule extended some of the assumptions and obligations that were applied within marriage to cohabiting couples, i.e. "where a husband and wife are members of the same household their requirements and resources shall be aggregated and shall be treated as the husband's" (LWLC 1979: 21). The *London Women's Liberation Campaign for Legal and Financial Independence*

(LWLC) organised to challenge this provision. In its submitted evidence to a special commission dealing with the issue, the LWLC stated that:

Women should have the right to choose not to marry and thus to remain independent. Yet the cohabitation rule assumes them to be married and dependent. In choosing to be single, women forego the benefits of security and legal protection which they could have in marriage. It is mistaken to think that a couple can live 'as man and wife' unless they are legally married. Women who do not get the full benefits of marriage should not suffer its penalties. [...] There is a degrading assumption in the 'cohabitation rule' that if a woman has a sexual relationship with a man, she must be financially supported by him. This is akin to prostitution, not only in that it links sex with money, but also in that it creates an automatic asymmetry and inequality between the woman and the man. [...] We urge the immediate abolition of the 'cohabitation rule' as a step in the right direction – towards equality for men and women in the social security system. (LWLC 1979: 29).

With subsequent reforms, the cohabitation rule was maintained, but was made, supposedly, gender neutral. The *Centre for Research of Families and Relationships* claims that “the cohabitation rule is more likely to place women and their children into financial dependence on men” (CRFR 2008). The investigation of a number of relevant women’s organisation’s websites, including the Women’s Budget Group, suggests that this issue is not addressed directly by any of them.

Immigration

Mohanty maintains that, “historically (White) feminist movements in the West have rarely engaged with questions of immigration and nationality (one exception is Britain, which has a long history of black feminists organizing around such issues)” (2001: 202).

Indeed it was primarily Black women’s organizations that started addressing immigration-related intimate citizenship issues in the 1970s. For example, they campaigned and marched against the practice of so-called ‘virginity testing’ whereby Asian women were subjected to forced checks at airports “to see if they were really ‘pure’ brides claiming to be dependant on future Indian migrant husbands” (Mirza 2006: 147). Other important actions were taken by organizations such as SBS to reform immigration laws and the conditions they created to trap women in violent relationships (Griffin 1995). This was the case with the ‘one year rule’ which requires a non-British citizenship to stay with his/her British spouse for one year before they can apply for

permanent residence (Siddiqui 2000). This provision affects in particular women who depend financially on their male partners and would find themselves homeless and destitute if they left him. Furthermore, leaving a spouse and being deported back to their communities would entail, for many women, gender persecution caused by the ‘shame’ of being divorced or separated (Siddiqui 2000; Griffin 1995). As a result of *SBS* negotiations with the government, a concession was eventually introduced for partners who leave violent relationships (Siddiqui 2000). *SBS* is still campaigning on this issue to eliminate the need for those who apply for this concession to produce an injunction, or police caution.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Black women’s organizations were resentful of what they saw as the cultural and racial myopia of white feminists who were not broadening their perspectives to acknowledge and address immigration-related issues affecting in particular minoritized women (Amos and Parmar 2005). Today, such matters are dealt with by many women’s organizations, and not only those who are led by and work with such women. *Women’s Aid*, *Rights of Women*, the *Women’s Resource Centre*, (as well as non-women specific organizations such as *Asylum Aid*, the *Refugee Council*, *National Asylum Support Service*, etc) offer support to women and migrants, and lobby the government to improve migration laws and policies.

Non-monogamy/polygamy

In the 1970s and 1980s, non-monogamy – especially in lesbian feminist circles – was presented as a potentially radical alternative to being in a couple and a challenge to ‘compulsory heterosexuality’ (Barker and Ritchie 2007; Rich, 1981). Jackson and Scott (2004) argue that today polyamory/ non-monogamy is not seen as a political feminist choice anymore, but as “a libertarian, individualistic, hedonistic pursuit of sexual variety” (2004: 153).

Care and partnership

The issue of care was particularly prominent in the socialist feminists’ agenda of the 1970s. They argued that the unpaid care economy relied almost entirely on the work of women which had thus become a powerful instrument upon which capitalist economy thrived (McIntosh 2001). Today, “the concern is more to demonstrate the social importance of unpaid caring work in order to press for policies that improve the conditions under which it is done, the ways it is rewarded and the

ways it meshes with unpaid employment” (McIntosh 2001). These aspects are pursued in particular by the *Women’s Budget Group* (WBG). In their responses to budget reports and relevant proposals they call for specific attention to the fact that it is women who often provide unpaid family care during their lifetimes. Their recommendations on the latter aspect however, seem to be limited to encouraging more studies of the relationship between paid and unpaid work. “These should take into account how individual women manage to combine the two, with or without the use of formal paid services, and how these are shared across the generations as well as between men and women” (WBG 2005: 4).

Divorce

The 1969 Divorce Reform Act came into force in 1971 making the grounds for divorce less arduous (Smart 2004). In general, divorce has not featured as a prominent issue on the women’s movement’s agenda. Rather, it was men who organised in the 1980s to reduce the financial obligations they had after divorce, and obtained some changes with the Matrimonial and Family Proceedings Act of 1984 (Coote and Campbell 1987).

Reproductive Rights and Parenting

Abortion

Abortion was legalized in Britain (under certain conditions) with the Abortion Act of 1967.²¹³ Weeks (1985) explains that the Act “was passed by a coalition of forces whose unifying desire was to break with the moralism of the old enactments and replace it with an act whose concern was with health and welfare” (1985: 30). Since the Act was implemented in 1968, the women’s movement has campaigned both to protect and to extend it (Pascall 1997). As Lovenduski and Randall (1993) note, “throughout the 1970s, abortion was almost the definitive issue of the movement”, with tens of thousands of people supporting demonstrations against the anti-abortion

²¹³ The 1967 Abortion Act established that abortion was legal up to 28 weeks of pregnancy, if two doctors agreed that there were great risks if the pregnancy was not terminated. The four risks specified were: 1) risks to the pregnant woman’s life, 2) to her physical or mental health, 3) risk of serious abnormality in the foetus, and 4) risks to the women’s other children (Berer 1988). The Act does not apply to Northern Ireland.

movement and to push the legislation to allow free abortion on demand (1993: 220) (see also box 7).

In 1974 a Labour MP submitted a bill proposing restriction of the grounds for legal abortion. *ALRA*, the *Abortion Law Reform Association*, and other pro-choice groups successfully combined their forces to defend the 1967 Act, and in 1975 they formed the *National Abortion Campaign* (*NAC*) calling for abortion on demand (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). In 1979, new fears were aroused by a major so-called ‘pro-life’ offensive. In this instance, *NAC* and *Co-ord* organized a march which attracted more than 100,000 attendees – the largest demonstration on a women’s issue since the suffragette era – and, eventually, the proposed restrictive amendments were defeated once again (Byrne 1996; Lovenduski and Randall 1993).²¹⁴ In the following years, *NAC* and its ‘sister campaign groups’ kept opposing other proposed anti-abortion amendments. Their success in doing so is also due to the establishment of an extensive network within the trade unions, and to connections with MPs supporting abortion rights, who were encouraged to take action in defence of the 1967 Act, when needed (Stetson 2001; Byrne 1996; Lovenduski and Randall 1993).

Box 7: The ‘pro-life’ movement

Together with the flurry of feminist pro-choice activities in the past decades, there has also been an equally active rise of so-called ‘pro-life’ organizations (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Two of the main ones were the *Society for the Protection of Unborn Child* (*SPUC*) and *LIFE*, formed in 1967 and 1970 respectively. They had a large membership and with time were joined by other organizations, including the UK *LifeLeague*, *Right to Live*, and the *ProLife Alliance*. These groups have become “increasingly expert in handling the media, especially giving stories to the local press, and they [...] acquired a significant following amongst schoolchildren, through their educational work, and amongst college students” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 245). The majority of these movements still exist today and campaign to defend the ‘sanctity of human life’ which, they claim, starts at the embryo stage, and the right of the foetus, which cannot choose (Weeks 1995; Isaac 1994). Most recently, they have been active in lobbying against the proposal to change the reference, in the Human Fertilization and Embryology Bill, of ‘need for a father’ to

²¹⁴ The Co-ordinating Committee in Defence of the 1967 Act which, as its name suggests, was formed with the specific aim of protecting the Act.

the ‘need for supportive parenting’ for children conceived by IVF. They stated that such an amendment (which was eventually approved) would sanction abuses against the human embryo, and weaken the welfare of children (SPUC 2008).

In the 1980s, a number of internal divisions started to become apparent within the pro-abortion women’s movement. The tensions had to do with the exclusive focus of *NAC* on abortion and the need, according to some, to broaden out to cover reproductive rights more generally (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Those who supported this change, argued that:

it is impossible to campaign for ‘our right to choose’ without demanding total reproductive freedom. [...] It can be racist to try to win abortion on demand in isolation as that type of campaign ignores the fact that many doctors are quite willing to give abortions to Black and working class women and any women who have other characteristics they don’t approve of. (*Spare Rib* 1983; quoted in Amos and Parmar 2005: 55)

In 1983, at the annual *NAC* conference, the pro-choice movement split into two: the *Women’s Reproductive Rights Campaign (WRRC)* that was formally launched in 1984 to address reproductive rights, and those who kept campaigning with *NAC* on the single issue of abortion rights (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Despite this ideological split, the two groups joined forces once again in 1987 to form the Fight the Alton Bill (FAB) Campaign, aimed at opposing another attempt to attack the 1967 Act.

By the late 1980s, many pro-life campaigns abandoned the demand for the criminalization of abortion altogether, and started focussing their energies on a reduction of the abortion time-limit, which at the time was 28 weeks. A discussion on this very issue started as soon as the government introduced the Human Fertilization and Embryology Bill in 1989. This time *NAC* mobilized the *STAC* campaign, *Stop the Amendment Campaign*, that opposed any lowering of the existing time limit (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). This was eventually reduced to 24 weeks, however, the conditions advocated by *STAC* were also approved, i.e. that abortions on women more than 24 weeks pregnant could still be carried out (with no upper time limit) under special circumstances, and doctors performing them could not be prosecuted (Hohmeyer 1995). This special ‘clause’ was seen by many as a success for the medical lobby and its view that it is often a better option to abort a disabled foetus (even after 24 weeks), rather than being motivated by a

specific interest in protecting a woman's right to choose to perform an abortion later in the pregnancy (Charles 2000) (see also the section on disability groups in part III).

In the 1990s, *NAC* became progressively more proactive. As the 24-week limit had been established, it started focussing all its energies on changing the abortion law to enable all women “to decide for themselves whether or not they want to continue pregnancy, [...] and to have equal access to safe, free abortion on request (Hohmeyer 1995: 42, 45). In 2003, when *NAC* and *ALRA* merged to form Abortion Rights, the main campaigns kept being aimed at extending “women's rights and access to safe, legal abortion” (Abortion Rights 2008). *Abortion Right's* website also includes a statement on ‘disability and abortion’ which underscores the perspective that under any circumstance, a woman should always have the right to choose about her body, and if her decision is to have an abortion for reasons of impairment, this should be respected (Abortion Rights 2008).

Today, the defence of the 1967 Act remains an integral part of the activities of the pro-choice women's movement, as shown by the campaigns organized in May 2008 to oppose a proposed cut of the abortion limit. Pro-life campaigners were defeated once again. However, according to Stetson (2001), the need to spend resources and energies to defend the Act have, for forty years now, taken away the focus on the original call for abortion on demand, which to this day is not sanctioned by the law (although, some may argue, it is in practice). Nevertheless, without such activities and the relentless campaigns of the women's movement, it is likely that the Abortion Act would have been altered under the campaigning of the pro-life movement (Stetson 2001).

Reproductive technologies

The contraceptive pill and other intra-uterine devices became available in Britain in the early 1960s. Access to such contraceptive methods for women free and on demand constituted one of the seven demands of the WLM. The right to access safe and free contraception became particularly prominent in the movement's campaigns of the early 1980s, when the proposals to stop giving contraceptive advice and treatment to girls under 16 were successfully opposed (Coote and Campbell 1987). While the right of women to be able to control their own fertility was seen as crucial, many women were also concerned about the hazardous effects of the pill and other contraceptives, and the use of women's bodies for medical experimentation which

conflicted with women's reproductive interests (Nordqvist 2008; Coote and Campbell 1987). In the 1980s, as an alternative to male-dominated medical institutions and practices, some women started forming local self-help groups, lesbian sexual health clinics, and well-women centres, many of which still exist today (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Moreover, a number of groups started operating within the medical profession, including *Women in Medicine*, the *Association of Radical Midwives*, and well-women clinics were created with the aim of putting the feminist perspective on the agenda of the medical community (Byrne 1996).

The fight *for* conception was another important issue for the women's movement since the late 1970s, especially in relation to forced sterilization of Black and working class women and the racist experimentations with Depo-Provera, a highly hazardous contraceptive (Carby 1982). It was during this period that feminists created and expanded the concept of 'reproductive rights':

Initially this was taken to mean the right of access to free and safe contraception and abortion [...]. Only more recently, [...] has attention also been given to the right of women to reproduce, and feminists have been active against sterilization and contraception abuse, join[ing] movements for the right of women to decide how they are to give birth and begun to debate issues raised by infertility treatment. (Himmelweit 1988: 38)

The introduction of new reproductive technologies in the 1980s, such as IVF (in vitro fertilisation), AID (artificial insemination by donor), and surrogate motherhood were seen, on the one hand, as loosening "the link between marriage, heterosexual intercourse and childbirth" (Coote and Campbell 1987: 39); on the other, they raised new problems for feminists. Surrogacy, for example, was viewed by some as a new way for commercial agencies to profit from poor women, while others saw it as an acceptable way of women helping each other (Lovenduski and Randall 1993; Coote and Campbell 1987). AID and IVF were generally seen positively, as useful opportunities for women who could not otherwise conceive. However, for some, these new and often painful and invasive technologies were just another tool to reinforce the social pressure put on women to become mothers (Franklin 1997; Coote and Campbell 1987). Moreover, the popularity of these new medical advances highlighted once again the negative aspects of the medicalization of fertility and reproduction. "Control over these processes remained largely in male hands, and, indeed seemed to inflate the authority of the male medical profession over women's bodies" (Lovenduski and Randall 2001: 234). Feminist non-hierarchical well-women's centres were established partly to overcome this problem, however, they were never able to

provide much more than basic medical services. A more radical response came from other women who played a central role in setting up *FINRRAGE*, the *Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering* which “question the assumption that older and newer forms of contraceptives, the new reproductive technologies, and genetic engineering are neutral or even benign” (FINRRAGE 2010).

New reproductive technologies, their benefits and negative impacts on women, are issues that still raise much controversy amongst feminists. However, debates around them seem to be confined to a circle of experts, often within the scholarly field of bioethics and reproductive technologies (Nordqvist 2008; Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Moreover, in the past two decades women’s organisations have done relatively little in terms of organizing and campaigning around reproductive technology issues. In 1989, the Campaign for Access to Donor Insemination was organized by the Lesbian Custody Project, but it failed to achieve the modification of the Human Embryology and Fertilization Act, which eventually included the ‘need for a father’ for women wanting to access IVF treatments. Almost twenty years later, in 2008, the ‘need for a father’ was substituted with ‘need for good parenting’, and this time most of the campaigning to obtain this change came from LGBT organisations.

Motherhood, fatherhood and childcare

In the context of the feminist politics of the 1970s, motherhood and its confinement within institutionalized heterosexuality was often seen as an ‘excuse’ used by men to keep women isolated in the domestic sphere (Rowbotham 1989). However, by the end of the decade feminists started rehabilitating and revalorising motherhood as the “source of specifically female virtues and values” (Somerville 2000: 183). Within this understanding, the claim that men should also be involved more systematically in childcare, to foster responsible fatherhood and overcome endemic male violence, had only few supporters. Many viewed it as a bourgeois and heteronormative fantasy which had little applicability to the lives of the many women who needed to work, and/or were single and/or lesbian mothers (Charles 2000; Lovenduski and Randall 1993).

In terms of actions and organising, it was primarily socialist feminists and women in the labour movement who pursued maternity rights and childcare and framed them as socio-economic issues

needed to secure equal employment opportunities (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). The WLM demand for free 24-hour nurseries was precisely aimed at meeting the needs of working mothers. There were two different views on how childcare provisions should be pursued and organized. Some thought that the demand for nurseries should be directed at the state, or at least at local authorities. Others maintained that state-provided childcare would be “a hotbed of sexist ideology and authoritarian organization” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 288), and endorsed the creation of collective, self-organized and autonomous child care structures. Disagreements were rife and hampered the possibility of setting up a national campaign, as had happened around other issues such as abortion and violence against women. For this reason, in the 1970s, the struggles for child care remained mostly local and often unsuccessful. It was in the politically hostile climate of the 1980s that child care campaigning became more conspicuous. The *National Child Care Campaign*, set up in 1980, and the *Workplace Nurseries Campaign* of 1985 were all directed at the state, calling for the creation and funding of childcare facilities. With time these demands were taken up through trade unions as part of an agenda concerned with equal employment rights. Eventually, what kept the issue alive in the political agenda was not so much the women’s movement but the requirement of the economy for female labour (Charles 2000). Thus childcare was mainstreamed in governmental policies as an employment issue, and only secondarily as a gender issue (Charles 2000). Furthermore, as Williams and Roseneil (2004) point out, New Labour policies on childcare do not really attend to the care preferences, commitments and inequalities experienced by women, in that they are driven by a ‘social investment’ approach to policies around intimate life, and by a focus on the child as the main welfare subject.

Lesbian parenting

One of the reasons why the movement has been critical of the ‘institutionalization of motherhood’ is that lesbian mothers, lone mothers, poor mothers and black mothers were often stigmatized because they challenged the assumption that the proper place for motherhood was the white, middle-class, heterosexual family (Charles 2000; Richardson 1993). In particular, the stigmatization of non-heterosexual mothers meant that up until the mid 1980s, the more lesbian women were open about their sexuality, the least likely they were to win custody of their children when their marriage broke down (Weeks 2007; Charles 2000). “This anti-lesbian hostility was compounded by racism if the mother was black and from a minority ethnic group; by class

discrimination if she was working class; and by assumptions that the ideal mother would be fully able-bodied and law abiding” (Radford 1995: 57). The *Lesbian Custody Project (LCP)* was formed within *Rights of Women (RoW)* in 1982 to provide legal and emotional support to lesbian mothers and to campaign to change such a discriminatory status quo. The *LCP* operated in a number of different ways: it offered advice to lawyers working on court cases, developed heterosexism awareness trainings with social services, and promoted positive images of lesbian parenting in the media. By the mid 1980s, the anti-lesbian motherhood sentiment was still widespread, but cases were increasingly being won (Radford 1995). However, the negative impact of Section 28, in 1988, and the Human Embryology and Fertilization Bill of 1989 represented a new challenge to the recognition of and possibilities offered to lesbian mothers and lesbians wanting to be mothers.²¹⁵ As mentioned earlier, *CADI*, the *Campaign for Access to Donor Insemination* (which was an initiative of the *LCP*) organized a campaign of lobbying and rallying, but eventually the ‘need for a father’ was introduced in the Act, thus restricting lesbian and single mother’s rights to have access to fertility treatments.

Moreover, in the early 1980s, self-help self-insemination workshops were organized to share knowledge about how to get pregnant through self-insemination. In 1987, Lisa Saffron, who used to work for a Women’s Health Information Centre, wrote the guidebook *Getting Pregnant our own way: a guide to alternative insemination*, which became very popular and was later published as a book (Clarke 2006). Today the internet provides a wealth of resources for women who want to use self-insemination. Saffron herself set up *PinkParents*, a web-based national project aimed at “reducing the isolation and discrimination that LGBT families and families- to-be face” (PinkParents 2009).

As far as adoption rights for same-sex couples are concerned, there has never been a law preventing lesbian, gay or bisexual individuals from adopting children (Stonewall 2008b). Nevertheless, the homophobic climate of the 1980s and 1990s contributed to stigmatize gay and lesbian foster or adoptive parents. In this respect, the *LCP* was actively involved in challenging biased media coverage and the refusal of some adoption agencies’ to consider gay and lesbian

²¹⁵ Section 28 prohibited local authorities from promoting “the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship”.

parents as foster or adoptive parents.²¹⁶ However, writing in 1995, Radford (1995) claims “neither LCP nor ROW can do enough without the support of a visible, including explicitly anti-racist, anti-heterosexist feminist movement, which acknowledges the connections and commonalities in women’s experiences while recognising and finding ways of working in alliance and collaboration across power relations and differences, acting locally, thinking globally” (1995: 61).

Sexuality: Identities and Practices

“Sexuality, far from being the unifying element in women’s struggles for emancipation, proved to be the most divisive” (Weeks, 2007: 79)

Lesbianism, lesbian rights and recognition

The relationship between lesbian and heterosexual feminists in the women’s movement has often been tense, “marked by competing meanings of ‘lesbian’ and ‘feminist’ and the struggles for control and ownership of those meanings” (Wilton 1995: 87).

Prior to the WLM, British lesbians did not have a point of reference in feminism, and when they organized, if at all, they did so as part of gay rights movements (Lovenduski and Randall 1933). In the 1970s, it was the position of political lesbians that became particularly prominent and controversial within the women’s movement. Its central message – as explained in the 1979 paper of the Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group entitled ‘Political Lesbianism: the Case Against Heterosexuality’ – was that:

all feminists can and should be political lesbians. Our definition of a political lesbian is an identified woman who does not fuck men. It does not mean compulsory sexual activity with women. [...] Any woman who takes part in a heterosexual couple helps to shore up male supremacy by making its foundations stronger. (Quoted in Nitché 2003: 28)

Those who supported this view saw hypocrisy in living with men, and viewed heterosexuality as a social structure created to maintain and enforce men’s oppression upon

²¹⁶ However, lesbians and gay men have often adopted or fostered disabled, ‘difficult’ or ‘hard to place’ children. This is partly due to the fact that these children are often located with lesbian or gay carers (Hicks 1996).

women. However, the ‘lesbianism is the practice and feminism is the theory’ slogan was not approved of by all feminists and lesbians (Weeks 1985). Many non-lesbian feminists found political lesbianism as a new way of oppressing heterosexual women (Wilton 1995). Some were also driven away from the movement altogether, they “felt they couldn’t participate in the politics of the women’s liberation movement, where the dominant question was whether one was for or against heterosexuality” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 243). As Segal (1987) claims, by calling for a political embrace of lesbianism, revolutionary feminists inverted the message ‘the personal is political’ into the political is personal, and the ‘personal is sexual’:

The message that had once served to enable feminists to throw off self-blame and self-hatred by being able to see their apparently ‘personal’ problems as socially produced, [...] now served more to induce personal guilt and self-blame, where some feminists felt accused of involvement in ‘incorrect’ sexual and personal relationships. (Segal 1987: 96)

Many lesbian feminists were also uncomfortable with the notion of political lesbianism, and accused it of denying the importance of lesbian desire by focussing exclusively on the political significance of lesbianism (Lovenduski and Randall 1993; English, Hillibaugh and Rubin 1982).

Lesbianism became a central and contested issue at the 1975 WLM national conference. After very heated debates, the sixth demand, for “an end to discrimination against lesbians, and for women’s right to determine their own sexuality” was approved. However, according to Coote and Campbell,

the demand tended to confuse the issue. It affirmed a commitment to lesbians’ civil rights but ignored their erotic interests. By combining two separate aims, it seemed to associate self-determination with a specific lesbian identity, as though other less clearly defined expressions of sexuality were not relevant. (1987: 248).

Another issue of contention in relation to lesbianism was brought about by Black lesbians who refused to, or were reluctant to, ‘come out’. Coming out was seen by many lesbians, feminists and members of the gay movement as a necessary political act to challenge pervasive homophobia and heteronormativity. However, as some Black lesbians wrote in *Feminist Review* in 1984:

it is different from black women – the whole notion of coming out – than it is for white women. One is made to feel guilty if you don’t come out. At one time in

the gay movement there was this pressure that ‘You’ve not really come out till you’ve come out to your family’ and I find that really oppressive, I feel it doesn’t hold in the same way for us because often we don’t want to take the risk of total rejection by our families who we might rely on for lots of different kinds of strength and support (Belda-Ballie, Baker et al 1984: 54).

In the 1980s, the controversy about lesbian sado-masochism (s/m) brought about yet more frictions within the movement and lesbian feminists. Political lesbians in particular associated s/m with brutality and violence which could not be associated with lesbianism or women more generally. Sado-masochism was seen as an extension of women’s subordinate roles and as mirroring heterosexual hierarchical and oppressive sexual practices. This issue flared up at the London Lesbian and Gay Centre (LLGC) in the mid 1980s, when some lesbian feminists (Lesbians against SadoMasochism – LASM) opposed the use of the centre by s/m groups, whom they accused of wearing fascist regalia and of celebrating racialized, anti-semitic and gendered inequality. Lesbian sado-masochists, on the other hand, claimed the right to engage in consensual extreme practices of ‘erotic blasphemy’ to realize sexual pleasure and to express their sexual fantasies and desires in whichever way they wanted (Califia 1979; Weeks 1998)), and won the right to be able to continue to meet at the LLGC. Wilton (1995) argues that the attack launched by the revolutionary feminist orthodoxy, symbolised by the movement *Lesbian Against Sado-Masochism*, contributed to the construction of an image of feminism as life-threatening in its eterophobia and prudery, and pushed many lesbians to declare common cause with gay men, transsexuals, and other ‘sex outlaws’, away from feminism and the women’s movement. In this respect, it is also important to note that radical feminists have generally been very confrontational towards trans people (Monro 2007). They saw transsexuality as reinforcing gender stereotypes and MTF in particular as invading women’s space, minds and emotions (Monro 2007). As a leading US representative of this position argued, “all transsexuals rape women’s bodies by reducing the real female form to an artefact, and appropriating this body for themselves” (Raymond 1980: 108; quoted in Monro 2007: 131). This radical stance had a profoundly damaging impact on relations between the women’s movement and trans people (Monro 2007).

Women’s sexual pleasure

Already in the 1920s British feminists such as Dora Russell and Marie Stopes asserted women’s right to sexual pleasure. However they still viewed sex as part of a ‘maternal cycle’, i.e. its

function was primarily to lead to reproduction (Coote and Campbell 1987). This approach was challenged by women in the WLM who, under the influence of contemporary feminist books such as the ‘Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm’ (Koedt 1968), contested old ‘sexual routines’ and perspectives on sex and sexual acts. “It seemed possible in the early 1970s that the women’s liberation movement could transform human sexual relations” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 240). An important, yet controversial, contribution came from Australian émigré Germaine Greer. In her book *the Female Eunuch* (1971) she reclaimed the notion that genuine sexual gratification has to involve the vagina, and was critical of the ‘clitoromania’ that had become so popular. Women, she claimed, had to take responsibility for their own and their partner’s enjoyment, “part of the battle will be if they can change their attitude toward sex and embrace and stimulate the penis instead of taking it” (Greer 1971; quoted in Coote and Campbell 1987: 241). As already noted, radical feminists took a different approach. In *Thoughts on feminism*, a paper presented at the 1971 WLM national conference, they stated that sex with men had to be stopped, “our personality alters as we become less penetrable (vaginal) and increasingly self-contained (clitoral)” (in Coote and Campbell 1987: 242). In general, as Wilton colourfully puts it, “at the time, all this celebration of cunts and clits read like an uncomplicated reclaiming of female sexual pleasure” (1995: 96). Indeed, as shown in the discussion about lesbian s/m, the reclaiming of female sexual pleasure was not that uncomplicated after all. In this respect it is interesting to note that according to Weeks the degenitalization of sex and of pleasure that is part of the erotics of s/m was in fact very much in line with the view of its radical feminist opponents. “They too attempt to minimize the genital nature of sex”. Moreover, he claims, both approaches contributed to a shift in the discussion of the erotic and in discourses about sexual pleasure more generally. “Increasingly, it is not ‘sexuality’ as ordinarily understood that is the real object of debate, but the ‘body’ with its multitude of possibilities for pleasure – genital and non-genital. [...] The meaning of sexuality is being transformed – and before our rather startled eyes” (1998: 327).

Pornography

Pornography is an issue that has profoundly divided the women’s movement in Britain and elsewhere. Most feminists agree that pornography promotes sexist images of women.

In its heterosexual versions, reducing women to flesh – or bits of flesh – it celebrates the idea of men’s insatiable sexual appetite and women’s ubiquitous

sexual availability. Defined and consumed by men, standard pornography would seem to mock feminist attempts to express a more women-centred sexuality. (Segal 1990: 31)

From this generally agreed position, a number of different perspectives on the causes and effects of pornography have been developed by feminists in the late 1980s. Two opposed views became particularly prominent, the ‘pornography as violence’, and ‘pornography as representation’ positions (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). According to the former, pornography is one of the most effective means of subordinating women; it is dangerous because, in representing women as submissive, available, and enjoying abuse, it strengthens men’s ‘natural’ proneness to sexual violence (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Those who supported the ‘pornography as representation’ position maintained that pornography is only one amongst the many sources that degrade women and represent them as powerless and submissive. Within this perspective, banning pornography would have little concrete results given the many other forms of gendered representation of women. The alternative is rather to produce a feminist non-sexist pornography by changing the regime of representation (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Variations of these two positions were at the core of the three main campaigns on pornography that started being active in the late 1980s.

The *Campaign Against Pornography (CAP)*, that established a direct link between pornography and sexual crimes, was formed in 1987 by Labour MP Clare Short after she proposed a bill to ban erotica such as ‘page 3’ in national newspapers. *CAP*’s aims were to promote equal opportunities for women and oppose discrimination, to promote research on the links between pornography and violence against women, and to provide facilities for the relief of women and children affected by pornography. *CAP* organised the *Off the Shelf* campaigns against newsagents selling pornographic magazines, helped prevent the launch of a satellite sex channel in 1993, and protested over a number of advertisements in the press. It eventually ended its activities in the late 1990s due to lack of funds (Women’s Library 2008).

The *Campaign Against Pornography and Censorship (CAPC)* was established in 1989 and, like *CAP*, maintained that there is a direct the link between pornography and violence against women (Smith 1993). In terms of activities, *CAPC* promoted actions such as boycotts against the pornography industry, provided information on every aspect of pornography, and tried, unsuccessfully, to influence legislation through the adoption of the MacKinnon/Dworkin

ordinance which would have enabled women “to take pornographers to court on the grounds that pornography discriminates against women” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 128).

Feminists Against Censorship (FAC), formed in 1989 and still existing, differs substantially from *CAP* and *CAPC*. It is closer to the ‘pornography as representation’ position and is primarily aimed at fighting censorship from a feminist perspective (FAC 2008). FAC supports the production of sexually explicit material which is neither sexist, racist nor coercive, as opposed to banning pornography altogether or allowing state censorship which, it claimed in the 1990s, tended to target primarily gay, lesbian and feminist material. (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). As a leaflet produced by *FAC* in 1989 stated:

We need sexually explicit material produced by and for women, freed from the control of right-wingers and misogynists, whether they sit on the board of directors or the board of censors. We need an analysis of violence that empowers women and protects them at the same time. We need a feminism willing to tackle issues of class and race and to deal with the variety of oppressions in the world, not to reduce all oppression to pornography. (Quoted in Rodgeron and Semple 1990: 22)

In practice, as Lovenduski and Randall point out, the feminist pornography campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s operated in parallel, pursuing their own specific aims and contesting each other, thus ultimately failing to successfully address what they all opposed: violence in pornography (1993).

Today, a particularly active organisation in this area is *Object*. Established in 2003, *Object* challenges ‘sex object culture’, i.e. “the objectification of women, [and] particularly the normalising of the porn and sex industries, through lads’ mags or lap dancing” (Object 2008). *Object*’s activities revolve around raising awareness and producing information through the internet (its website and e-groups), political briefings, and lobbying decision makers. As of 2010 it is primarily involved in a lap dancing campaign to end the licensing of strip clubs as cafes, and in a campaign to challenge the demand for prostitution.

Regulation of sexual practice

The election of a Labour government in 1997 brought about many substantial changes in the regulation of sexuality in the UK. We have already looked at the introduction of Civil Partnerships in 2004, but also of crucial importance have been the equalisation of the age of consent in 2000, the repeal of Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act in 2003, legislation outlawing discrimination on grounds of sexuality in the provision of goods and services in 2007, and the 2008 protections against incitement to hatred on grounds of sexual orientation. As already discussed in the WP6 Strand 2 report, these changes have been possible thanks to the favourable political environment created under Labour, and the supra-national influence of 'Europe', and the European Convention of Human Rights. However, equally crucial in obtaining these policies has been the extensive campaigning of the lesbian and gay movement, with Stonewall at the forefront. As noted earlier, this illustrates the fact that the regulation of sexual practice has not been a central issue for the women's movement, having been primarily pursued by the LGBT movement.

Prostitution

Feminist approaches to prostitution in the UK have been, and still are, marked by a clear-cut division. Some view it as a degrading practice and a form of sexual violence that contributes to the subordination of women, and should thus be criminalized (Kelly and Regan 2000; Jeffreys 1997). On the other hand, the feminist pro-sex work approach views prostitution as any other form of labour and demands the abolition of prostitution laws which criminalize sex workers. The latter position is supported by the *English Collective of Prostitutes* (ECP), formed in 1975 to provide "information, help and support to individual prostitute women and others who are concerned with sex workers' human, civil, legal and economic rights". With other organizations, such as the *UK Network of Sex Work Projects*, and the *International Union of Sex Workers*, the ECP has been particularly active in the past two years to oppose proposals (which, in November 2008, the Home Secretary said were 'under way') to criminalize those who purchase sex. This approach is fully supported by organizations such as *Object* and the *Feminist Coalition Against Prostitution* that campaign to ensure that clients are punished for fuelling what they deem an exploitative practice.

Gender and Sexual Violence Issues

Violence against women

As already shown, the issue of violence against women became a critical concern of the WLM in the 1970s. Since then, it has been central to the demands and activities of the British women's movement, and as a result, significant shifts in relevant policies have been achieved (Charles 2000; Bindel, Cook and Kelly 1996; Lovenduski and Randall 1993).

One of the first initiatives to be taken up by many women's groups across the country was the creation of refuges for women victims of domestic violence, a uniquely British innovation which later spread to America and other countries (Byrne 1996; Dobash and Dobash 1992). By 1977 one could count almost two hundred refuges in the UK, as well as many rape crisis centres (Byrne 1996). "These were autonomous, grassroots, non-hierarchical, collectivist centres run by women volunteers and usually maintained an open-door policy" (McMillan 2001: 166). With a view to coordinating such a multitude of initiatives, a decision was taken at the 1975 WLM conference in Manchester to set up the *National Women's Aid Federation* (NWFA). Its role was to organize and integrate the activities provided by the refuges and rape centres, but also to lobby and campaign to improve policies to protect women (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). One of its goals was to "educate and inform the public, the police, the courts, the social services and other authorities with respect to the battering of women, mindful of the fact that this is the result of the general position of women in our society" (Abrar 1996: 193).

By the end of the decade, the WLM had included the issue of domestic/sexual violence in its seventh demand for "freedom for all women from intimidation by threat or use of violence or sexual coercion, regardless of marital status. An end to all laws, assumptions and institutions that perpetuate male dominance and men's aggression towards women" (Radford 1995: 62). Importantly, with this demand the WLM wanted to define male violence against women as an issue of public concern. The women who supported this approach argued that the tradition in public policies to classify these crimes as private issues perpetuated a dangerous myth. They "questioned the reluctance of the state to intervene on behalf of women and argued for the protection of the law to be extended to the so-called private realm of the family" (Charles 2000: 138). The role and practices of the police were also addressed by this demand. As late as 1975,

the police followed the recommendation that in cases of domestic violence, every effort should be made to keep the family united, and, wherever possible, not to intervene in ‘family matters’ at all (Abrar 1996; Coote and Campbell 1987). To challenge this common response, the WLM called for a radical change in public policies, and for an improved and increased intervention by the state and relevant institutions, questioning the traditional division between the public and private sphere (Charles 2000; Abrar 1996).

The awareness raised by the movement and NWFA on these matters soon bore fruit. In 1975, a newly instituted parliamentary select committee on violence in marriage established the social nature of the problem of domestic violence.²¹⁷ Based on the recommendations made by the committee, the Domestic Violence Act was passed in 1976, making it easier for a woman at risk of violence to obtain a court injunction. A year later, the new Homeless Person Act made it a requirement for local authorities to re-house women who came to a refuge and to make provisions for their children (Coote and Campbell 1987).

While there was consensus on the importance of taking up the fight against domestic violence and sexual assault, the movement was highly divided over the causes of this form of violence. Disagreements emerged in the course of debates about the formulation of the seventh demand. In order to be able to find some common ground, the following controversial sentence was eventually rejected: “male violence against women is an expression of male supremacy and political control of women” (Feminist Archive North 2008c). Radical and revolutionary feminists, who had pursued the incorporation of the above statement, argued that all “violence is a universal attribute of men which is crucial to their domination of women” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 302). Socialist feminists, on the other hand, claimed that violence was “like the domination of women by men, an effect, albeit a complex and mediated one, of capitalist society” (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 302). This ideological difference eventually led to a split within the movement, with the creation of the campaign WAVAW in 1980 – *Women Against Violence Against Women* – which distanced itself from the WLM and NWFA. WAVAW linked violence

²¹⁷ In this respect it is relevant to mention Erin Pizzey, the first woman to open a refuge in London in 1971. She saw domestic abuse as “a psychological problem” and claimed that certain kinds of women are “violence prone and invited assault” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 36). Her position is often cited in the websites of men’s organizations, such as the UK Men’s Movement (see part III), to reinforce the view that it is often women who provoke men to be violent against them.

against women to male domination and took action on a number of issues, including pornography, rape in marriage and prostitution, which were all seen as different manifestations of violence against women (Coote and Campbell 1987). In this respect, it is relevant to note that pornography became central to the actions and campaigns of many radical and revolutionary feminists. They saw it as a form of violence, directly responsible for and encouraging rape and sexual abuse. They campaigned against it, often engaging in provocative (and sometimes illicit) actions, such as, “glu[ing] up the lock of sex shop doors, smash[ing] windows of strip clubs, daub[ing] angry messages on walls” (Coote and Campbell 1987: 224), “standing outside sex shops, taking photographs of men entering the premises and then shouting at them when they came out [...], pouring cement down the toilet of a cinema that screened nasty pornography” (Bindel 2007).

Another important matter of contention on the issue of violence developed from the harsh criticism of Black women that differences based on ‘race’ were largely overlooked by the women’s movement. They argued that there was little understanding about how “black women were under considerable pressure not to accuse black men of violence”, in a context in which Black men were consistently criminalized and racialized as violent by the media and the police (Lovenduski and Randall 1993: 309). Moreover, white feminists too were being accused of complacency with the racist ideology that Black men are the main perpetrators of crimes against women:

Again, when women marched through Black inner city areas to ‘Reclaim the Night’ they played into the hands of the racist media and the fascist organizations, some of whom immediately formed vigilante groups patrolling the streets ‘protecting’ innocent white women by beating up Black men. Therefore we would agree that ‘any talk of male violence that does not emphatically reject the idea that race or colour is relevant automatically reinforces these racist images’ (Ware, 1983) (Amos and Parmar 2005: 57, 58)

As a result of these criticisms, and the fact that racism was in many instances poisoning relations in many refuges (Lovenduski and Randall 1993), Black women’s groups established their own refuges and campaigns against sexual violence. One of the most popular and active amongst these organizations since then has been Southall Black Sisters. SBS has been successful in integrating into the UK domestic violence policy agenda issues particularly relevant to minoritized

communities, such as forced marriage and others related to discriminatory migration policies (as discussed in later sections, see also box 7).

Box 7: Southall Black Sisters and domestic violence

One of the most prominent issues on the agenda of *SBS* has been forced marriage. In particular, *SBS* has challenged the reluctance of state agencies to intervene to stop the practice for fear of being seen as racist. “We have been campaigning for a widespread acceptance of the view that it is racist *not* to intervene and that it is the human right of all women to expect and be afforded state protection against violence” (*SBS* 2008; emphasis added). As *SBS*’s website states, despite having campaigned on this issue since the early 1980s, media and governmental interest in forced marriage increased only at the end of the 1990s (*SBS* 2008). Most of their work “in this area has consisted of making recommendations to the Home Office, the Police, the Foreign and Consular Service, Social services, Schools and Health Authorities on good practice and minimum standards when dealing with women and girls who face the possibility of forced marriage and/or abduction” (*SBS* 2008).

Since the 1990s, *SBS* has also collaborated with *Justice for Women*, to address the issue of women who kill their violent partners, and the unequal ways in which the criminal justice system treats violent men and abused women (Bindel et al 1995).²¹⁸ “We [...] mobilised public opinion in our own communities and in the wider community through public meetings, pickets, demos and media coverage. [...] For us, it was [...] a high point of feminist activity in the nineties” (*SBS* 2008).

By the early 1990s, many of the frictions around the issue of violence against women had subsided, and discussions were more easily undertaken. Writing in 2000, Hannana Siddiqui (2000), joint-coordinator of *SBS*, mentions that the greater integration of minoritized women’s issues on the mainstream governmental agenda on violence against women has also been the result of improved alliances between black women and white feminists, and argues that the

²¹⁸ *Justice for Women* was formed in Leeds in 1990 specifically to campaign on the issue of women who kill their violent partners, and for changes in “the defences to murder, so that they encompass and reflect women's experiences of domestic violence” (*JFW* 2008).

building of even stronger relationships is the only way forward to pursue the empowerment of all women.

Furthermore, in its framing, violence against women has progressively been “analytically extricated from male power. The heightened visibility extended to ‘domestic’ as opposed to ‘male’ violence obscured the diminished influence of radicals and their analysis” (Elman 2003: 98). The *End of Violence Against Women Coalition* website, for example, rarely mentions men at all, and the main aim of its campaigning is “for violence against women to be understood as a cause and consequence of women's inequality” (End Violence Against Women 2008).²¹⁹ As Walby (2002) suggests, this reflects the trend in contemporary feminism to transcend the ‘doxa of difference’, and shift to a conceptual approach couched in the language of human rights.

Some see the move away from framing the issue as one of male violence and dominance as a result of the de-politicization of the movement. Hence, whilst in the 1970s the action undertaken by the WLM on issues of violence against women was “regarded as fundamentally political, [...] now it is viewed by some as an alternative to social services, not as part of feminism. In these circumstances, campaigning work is no longer seen as part of the function of the group” (Bindel et al 1995: 66). This perspective reflects the radical feminist belief that only non-hierarchical, collective forms of organization which maintain complete autonomy from the state are truly feminist (Charles 2000). As Charles points out, however, “more formal organization may serve to make feminist organizations more effective service providers, but this does not necessarily need to negate the political framework of feminism and women’s empowerment within which alternative feminist services are offered” (2000: 152; 153). And indeed, many view the recent introduction of a multi-agency response approach to domestic violence as a positive development, which results also from the campaigning activities of the women’s movement in the past four decades (Hague 1998; Abrar 1996). Today the women’s movement against domestic violence includes *Women’s Aid* (formerly, the Women’s Aid Federation), other shelter and refuge groups, campaigning bodies, and various women’s organizations that in turn co-operate with the

²¹⁹ *End Violence Against Women* is an “unprecedented coalition of individuals and organisations who are calling on the Government, public bodies and others to take concerted action to end violence against women. We are activists, survivors, academics and service providers” (End Violence Against Women 2008). Its members include: the Fawcett Society, Forward, Southall Black Sisters, the four Women’s Aid Federations, and the Women’s National Commission.

Police, specialist local authority units (such as Women's Equality or Community Safety Units), social services or housing departments, voluntary sector agencies, and private firms of solicitors (Hague 1998).²²⁰ As one feminist, who has been active in violence-against-women issues since the 1970s, comments:

Who would have thought at the beginning of second-wave feminism that local councils would have Zero Tolerance [public educational] campaigns, that the Metropolitan Police would have domestic violence units? I think it is quite startling that you've got women like me training police officers, probation officers and magistrates on the politics of sexual violence... (Elman 2003: 107)

Rape and Sexual Assault

By the end of the 1970s, women's groups had set up refuges for victims of domestic violence, rape crisis centres and telephone and help lines across the country. At the same time, 'Reclaim the Night' marches were being organized proclaiming that all women should be free to walk the streets without fear, and challenging the view that women wearing provocative clothes or being out late were 'asking for it' (Charles 2000).

From the outset, the WLM was split around two opposite explanations for rape (as it was for violence against women). Radical feminists saw male sexuality, especially as expressed in heterosexuality, as inherently violent and as the cause of rape itself (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). They maintained that rape was a powerful threat used by men to keep control over women through the production of fear (Brownmiller 1977). Others challenged the notion that all men are potential rapists and saw rape as a problem emerging from the unequal relationship between men and women. They emphasized that rape was about masculinity – i.e. gender – not maleness – i.e. biological determinism (Segal 1997).

With the passage of time, the focus of feminism shifted away from male sexuality and gendered relationships to addressing the criminal justice system (Lovenduski and Randall 1993). In particular, feminists started raising awareness about the fact that rape trials often silenced the

²²⁰ With its four federations in England, Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland, Women's Aid is still the major national agency "working to end domestic violence against women and children, [...and supporting] a network of over 500 domestic and sexual violence services across the UK" (Women's Aid 2008).

victim's point of view in favour of the rapist's perspective. They also argued that rape law was built around and implemented according to a phallogentric view of sexuality which emphasised penetration and intercourse as always pleasurable for women – never questioning the possibility that a woman may experience it as sexual violence (Smart 1989). Moreover, all too often the view that men's sexuality was an uncontrollable sexual urge was successfully used as a mitigating circumstance in rape convictions (Lees 1996; Smart 1989).

Many organisations, including *Rape Crisis*, the *London Rape Crisis Group*, and *Women Against Rape*, campaigned to bring these issues to public attention and to reform the law and its enforcement. One of their most important successes was the decision of the Law Commission to criminalize rape in marriage in 1991. More recently, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 extended the definition of rape and changed the law about consent, which is now based on agreement by choice (see WP6 Strand 2 report). Whilst these improvements are welcome, they are not deemed to go far enough to address these concerns. Thus, many feminists and women's organizations are still actively campaigning against the hostile atmosphere created by the criminal justice system and the media around victims of rape (Bindel 2006; Grey 2006). Many women's organisations that deal with rape have also broadened their scope to address issues of sexual violence more generally. As well as campaigning to challenge the gendered approach of the criminal justice system in dealing with rape, their activities also revolve around providing support to women who suffer sexual violence, punishing marital rape just like stranger rape, and fundraising for resources for feminist support services for women and girls who have experienced sexual violence.

Another important issue is that of child sexual abuse, which, as previously noted, had already been addressed in the 19th century by first wave feminists. More recently, and particularly since the 1980s, the efforts of feminist incest survivors' groups, rape crisis centres and refuge movements have contributed to a shifting of the issue of child sexual abuse and incest abuse from the private domestic domain to the public social arena (Frosh 1994; Dominelli 1989). Overall, as Radford, Kelly et al (1996) argue, feminist critiques and campaigns had an important impact on the formulation of policy and practice on this issue. "Feminists have awakened the professional conscience as those working in social work and psychology have begun to address the problem" (Radford, Kelly et al 1996: 7).

Trafficking for sexual purposes

The issue of sex trafficking became relevant in Britain towards the end of the 1990s. It was at that time that the European Union and international institutions took steps to raise awareness of this phenomenon and urged national governments to fight sex trafficking and address the needs of trafficked persons with specific regulations. At the non-governmental level, this call for action was taken up by a number of diverse groups, including women's and human rights organizations. Trafficking is addressed by the latter mainly by organizations that operate in the fields of prostitution and violence against women. There is agreement amongst all these organizations that sex trafficking must be condemned as exploitation. However, pro-sex work groups are actively involved in raising awareness against a discursive conflation between prostitution and trafficking, and are campaigning for the separate treatment of the two. The anti-prostitution lobby, on the other hand, approaches trafficking as the transnational dimension of prostitution, and campaigns for the criminalization of clients as part of a strategy to stop the exploitation of victims of both trafficking and prostitution. Assistance to women trafficked for sexual services is provided mainly by refuges for women leaving domestic violence, and by the very small number of organizations in the country (such as the feminist *Poppy Project*) that operate specifically to support trafficked women.

Part III - Other Movements and Intimate Citizenship

4.5. Black, Minority Ethnic, Anti-Racist Organizations

In the UK there are thousands of minority-ethnic associations operating at all levels: grassroots, local, municipal, regional, national and also supra-national. For the purpose of this report, and in line with the work of WP6, the discussion of this group of organizations focuses in particular on Pakistani associations and those representing and addressing the Turkish-speaking community.

In relation to the latter, there are about a dozen ‘mixed’ (i.e. not specifically women’s) Turkish organizations in the UK.²²¹ These are business-based, religion-based, political and support-oriented. The material available on their websites suggests that none of these groups addresses any aspect of intimate citizenship.

There are two associations of Turkish women: the *Association of Turkish Women* in Britain, and the *Turkish Cypriot Women’s Project*. The former, which does not have a website, was established in 2001 to organise “cultural, educational and social events relevant to the Turkish community in the United Kingdom” (TEP 2008). The *Turkish Cypriot Women’s Project*, which was set up in 1984, has more specific intimate citizenship-related interests. Its website states that its aim is to “relieve women of Turkish Cypriot/Turkish origin who are in need due to hardship and distress. Our aim is to provide a unique and individualised service geared for the enhancement and advancement of women” (TCWP 2008). To this end the organization provides the following services: a crèche for children under five, support to women and children who have experienced domestic violence, and leisure activities for elderly people (TCWP 2008).

Kurdish mixed organizations are also numerous, and encompassing political, cultural, business and religious-based groups. None of them appear to address intimate citizenship issues. Women Kurdish organizations include the *Kurdish Women Union*, and the *Iranian and Kurdish Women’s Rights Organisation*. The only information found about the former is that it claims to “offer help and support to Kurdish women newly arriving to the UK” (KNC 2008). The *Iranian and Kurdish Women’s Rights Organisation* (IKWRO), established officially in 2002 (but active for many years

²²¹ It is important to note that these findings are purely based on an internet-based research. Organizations that do not have the resources or desire for a virtual presence are not included.

before), is a well-recognized registered charity that provides advice, support, advocacy and referral to women, girls and men who face issues of ‘honour’ killing, forced marriage and domestic violence – all intimate citizenship issues. In line with the multi-agency response strategy to these issues (see part II), IKWRO works with the police and other authorities to find safe refuges for those in danger, and locate legal advice in divorce, child custody and asylum cases (IKWRO 2010). As stated on its website, even before it became a registered organization, “a group of women from the same communities identified the huge problems and different kinds of violence existing within their own communities which had not been exposed so far; therefore they came together to tackle [these issues] and to offer help and support to those in need of safety. [...] We are committed to women’s equality and human rights, to empowering women to be able to make their own choices, to support themselves financially and emotionally and to live free and happy lives” (IKWRO 2010).

As far as Pakistani mixed organizations are concerned, a very similar picture can be found. However, given the larger number of people of Pakistani background, and the longer history of migration from Pakistan to the UK, there are more associations and groups which come together around a ‘Pakistani’ identity. Mixed groups, which are primarily business, cultural, support and religion-based do not appear to address issues of intimate citizenship. Interestingly, there are few specific Pakistani women’s associations. One of them is the *Pakistan Women’s Association* in Harrow whose core aim “is to look after the welfare of the women working and, or residing in the Borough of Harrow.” The association provides the following services: counselling and advise on matrimonial problems, guidance on domestic violence, career advice, women’s health, teaching English as a foreign language, and so on (PWAH 2008).

There are fewer Pakistani women’s organizations because the majority of women from Pakistan organize around their Muslim faith rather than their Pakistani ethnic background (in general, there are more mixed Muslim organizations than Pakistani). There are many Muslim women’s associations all across the country, mainly providing services in the areas of education and training, employment, domestic violence and racial harassment, but also offering health and recreational activities. There are also two main LGBT Muslim organizations, *Imaan*, which since 1998 provides support to Muslim LGBT people and also works to raise the visibility of the Muslim LGBT community in the UK; and the *Safra project*, which since 2001 works on issues

relating to lesbian, bisexual and/or transgender women who identify as Muslim religiously and/or culturally, focussing on access to appropriate social and legal services.

As far as anti-racist organizations are concerned, an exploration of some of the leading ones in the UK (including Newham Monitoring Project, the Anti-Racist Alliance, the National Civil Rights Movement) shows that issues of intimate citizenship are hardly present on their agenda, which have an almost exclusive focus on political citizenship and civil rights.

4.6. Pro-family/ Conservative Women

The feminist critique of marriage and the family, and the media tendency to mis-represent and trivialize this perspective, provoked the mobilization of a conservative pro-family movement in defence of ‘traditional’ values, often based on a Judeo-Christian heritage (Luff 2000; Somerville 2000). This ‘pro-family’ movement is a “loosely constructed lobby of campaigning organisations, formed from the 1960s onwards” (Luff 2000). It comprises groups such as the *National Viewers and Listeners Association* (NVALA), *Christian Action Research Education* (CARE), *Family and Youth Concern* (FYC), the *Conservative Family Campaign*, *Family Forum*, *Child and Family Protection*, *Christian Social Action*, the *Campaign for Family and Nation*, the *National Family Trust*, and *Concern for Family and Womanhood* (Luff 2000; Somerville 2000). Together with these larger organizations, there are also a range of smaller local groups which have been prominent in dealing with (and opposing) specific issues, notably the availability of contraception to under-16's, and proposals for teaching about homosexuality (Luff 2000).

One of the earliest ‘pro-family’ groups was the *National Viewers and Listeners Association* founded by the ‘moral crusader’ Mary Whitehouse (Somerville 2000). Already in 1963 NVALA had started a campaign against the moral degeneration of broadcasting and its detrimental effects on society and families. It viewed the gay and women’s liberation movement “as the ultimate weapons in the plot to destroy the family” and women’s liberation in particular as a potent evil force that “had turned women into ‘female eunuchs’ and was responsible for the upsurge in homosexuality, the increase in pornography, and in violence to women” (Somerville 2000: 103).

According to Luff, who conducted several interviews with women associated with ‘pro-family’ organizations, open and direct attacks on feminism, such as the one reported above, are relatively

infrequent. This is due to the perception of feminism as less and less relevant or successful, and to the acceptance, to a certain degree, of feminism within the ‘moral lobby’, “in other words [...] their anti-feminism has been over-played” (2000). Luff argues that this lobby’s main criticism of the feminist women’s movement is the social explanation of gender roles and sexuality, which challenges the “sense of naturally and divinely ordained differences between the sexes” – often at the basis of their understanding of relations between men and women, patriarchy, and women’s role in the family.

A web-based exploration of contemporary ‘pro-family’ organizations reveals the existence of some which are moderate and others which are radical. Amongst the former is the *Conservative Women Organisation* (CWO) which is aimed at stimulating discussion around a number of issues and to feed back to the Party Leader. In the past five years the CWO has discussed a number of intimate citizenship-related issues such as human trafficking, ‘honour’ killing, violence against women and marriage (CWO 2008). The organisation does not appear to make specific demands, and its actions are mainly aimed at raising the awareness of its constituency around these issues. However, elsewhere there are a number of other ‘pro-family’ organizations that are vehemently opposed to feminism and, in many instances, also blatantly express their homophobic views. *Concern for Women and Womanhood* (CFW), for example, is a Christian-based organization that promotes a “proper man-woman relationship”, based on “the submissive feminine woman, the natural feminine role of wife and mother in the home, and the responsible, protective dominant masculine man” (CFW 2008). Furthermore, “CFW regards the so-called Women's Lib. (or Feminist) movement as a dangerous cancer and perversion in human society which must be eradicated” (CFW 2008).

4.7. Men’s/ Father’s Organizations

In the 1970s and most of the 1980s, the term ‘men's movement’ generally referred to “the praxis of self-consciously anti-sexist men committed to men’s rights, a ‘pro-feminist’ politics, to challenging sexism, homophobia and men's power” (Collier 1996: 11). From the 1990s, this concept has changed radically, and now encompasses organizations that are mainly anti-feminist in intent, and are often concerned with promoting ‘true masculinity’ (Collier 1996). They often build their agendas around the notion that it is men who are now the truly oppressed, and

endeavour to defend patriarchal families and the traditional masculine breadwinner role that, they claim, has been attacked by feminists. Their campaigns revolve around the three areas that in their belief have most undermined men: the status of fatherhood, men's work and male sexuality (Colliers 1996).

The pressure group *UK Men's Movement*, for example, claims that men have been attacked by the feminist lobby, and are manipulated and shamed over gender issues by both the media and the government. Some of their demands include: domestic violence programmes targeting both male and female victims; fair deals for men in divorce settlements; compensation for men falsely accused of rape or sexual harassment; and the "abolition of sexual apartheid such as women-only car park spaces, swimming leisure sessions and library tables" (UK Men's Movement 2008).

There are also numerous pro-fathers organizations in Britain campaigning to express their dissatisfaction with the way they are treated by the family justice system in the event of family breakdown. One such group is *Families Need Fathers* which has been active since 1974 to provide support to "parents whose children's relationship with them is under threat", and to lobby to improve the existing regulations on residence and contact orders (Families Need Fathers 2008). *Fathers for Justice (F4J)* is another organization which has been very active in bringing fathers' grievances about the family justice system to public attention. *F4J* campaigners have been at the centre of many 'high-profile' protests, including throwing packages of purple flour at Tony Blair, scaling the London Eye, and staging a five-hour protest on a ledge by the Buckingham Palace balcony. A more moderate approach appears to be offered by the *Fatherhood Institute*, which claims to be the UK's think tank on fatherhood. It is actively lobbying "for changes in law, policy and practice to dismantle barriers to fathers' care of infants and children" (Fatherhood Institute 2008).

In conclusion, it appears that many men's and father's groups in the UK have developed their demands and objectives in open opposition to the women's movement and feminism. The latter is seen as the promoter of men's 'unequal' status and treatment by public policy-makers. Many of these policies concern intimate citizenship issues: domestic violence, divorce, and child custody. In contrast, the groups' campaigns only appear to have had minimal impact on public policy. However, the fact that Harriet Harman, the Minister for Women, recently re-launched the

Fatherhood Institute in January 2008, may indicate a growing recognition of and potential openness towards their claims.

4.8. Disability Groups

The disabled people's movement in Britain gained strength in the 1980s "pushing the boundaries of acceptance and asserting the notion of equal rights" (Shakespeare, Gillespie-Sells et al 1996: 186). The movement's activities and demands have focussed on discrimination and disadvantage experienced by disabled people on the grounds of impairment (Shakespeare 2006). However, in the past decades, both ethnic minority and LGBT disabled people have remonstrated against the disabled movement's tendency to overlook other forms of discrimination – be it on the grounds of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race or religion – that they experience and that further marginalize them (Shakespeare 2006; Shakespeare, Gillespie-Sells et al 1996). In order to address and raise awareness on issues of sexuality and disability, since the 1970s disabled lesbians and gays founded organizations such as *REGARD, the Liberation Network of People with Disabilities*, *Sisters Against Disablement* and *Gemma* that demanded an end to the heterosexism in the disability movement (Shakespeare 2006; Shakespeare, Gillespie-Sells et al 1996).²²² On the other hand, lesbians and non-lesbian disabled women's organizations have also lamented the fact that they face the hostility of able-ism within the women's movement. The organization *Sisters Against Disablement* has been particularly vocal in the 1970s in its criticism of non-disabled feminists and their sidelining of the issue of disability.

This tension is still present today, in particular around issues of intimate-citizenship such as abortion, "the right to have and keep our children" (UK Disability Forum Women's Committee 2009), and the demand of disabled people to be seen as sexual beings. As noted earlier, the issue of ante-natal screening and of abortion are the most contested amongst disabled and non-disabled feminists (Sheldon 1999). Both the disability and women's movement concur in their opposition to the medicalization of pregnancy and abortion, and the extent to which women's choices over their own bodies are manipulated and or/influenced by medical practices (such as pre-natal screening and diagnosis) and approaches (such as the notion that disabled lives are not worth

²²² Many of these organizations came together in 1981 to form the British Council of Organizations of Disabled People (Shakespeare and Watson 2001).

living) (Sharp and Earle 2002; Lloyd 2001). However, whilst, for feminists, what needed defending was the principle of a woman's right to have full control of her body and to terminate any unwanted pregnancy at *her own* will, the disability movement was concerned that allowing abortions on the grounds of suspected impairment of the foetus is "tantamount to endorsing an anti-disability eugenics" (Sharp and Earle 2002: 137; Shakespeare 1998). Some argue that the feminist and disability movement positions are irreconcilable, despite the attempts made by feminist disability rights advocates to integrate the two approaches (Sharp and Earle 2002).

4.9. LGBT Organisations²²³

The gay liberation movement was formed in the early 1970s with a confrontational, radical politics that questioned the social relations of sexuality and challenged the hegemony of the heterosexual family and the heterosexism, homophobia and gender stereotyping so prevalent in Britain at that time (Weeks 2007; Charles 2000; Roseneil 2000).

The *Gay Liberation Front (GLF)* was founded in 1970 to address "equality under the law, the end of workplace discrimination, the report of sex education in schools and the right for gay people to 'be free to hold hands and kiss in public' " (Cook 2007: 180). Stanley and Sue (1983) argue that the revolution undertaken by the GLF was based and motivated by feminist principles and analysis – it was a feminist revolution. As stated in the GLF Manifesto:

We, along with the women's movement, must fight for something more than reform. We must aim at the abolition of the family, so that sexist, male supremacist system can no longer be nurtured there. (GLF, 1971:71; quoted in Stanley and Sue 1983: 70).

By 1972, the *GLF* had disbanded. However, with its initiatives it had set in process a number of gay and lesbian organizations and events, including the lesbian and gay pride, lesbian and gay help lines, ethnic minority gay groups, and various leisure groups. The support of local councils, including the GLC, in the 1980s "did important work in linking grants to equal opportunities policies and in providing support for gay and lesbian initiatives" (Cook 2007: 193). The 1980s

²²³ It should be noted that trans people have historically been marginalized by the lesbian and gay movement, and their inclusion within the LGBT communities is relatively recent (Munro 2007).

were also characterized by activities around the rapid spread of AIDS.²²⁴ Gay rights groups were the first to provide support to those – men and women (Wilton 1994) – who became ill with the virus, and to fight the stigmatization and discrimination that surrounded them, and the male gay community in general. In 1989 Stonewall was founded by a small group of women and men who had been active in the struggle against Section 28 of the Local Government Act. Their campaigning expanded progressively to address a number of issues affecting the lesbian and gay community, such as the equalisation of the age of consent, the recognition of same-sex partnerships, and the right for same-sex couples to adopt. Many of the demands made on these and other intimate citizenship issues have been addressed by the broader LGBT movement and positive results have been achieved in recent years, thanks in part to the favourable political climate of the post-1997 New Labour era and the influence of European legislation (see part II). As *Stonewall*'s website states, some of its major successes include: “the equalisation of the age of consent, lifting the ban on lesbians and gay men serving in the military, securing legislation allowing same-sex couples to adopt and the repeal of Section 28. More recently Stonewall has helped secure civil partnerships and ensured the recent Equality Act protected lesbians and gay men in terms of goods and services” (Stonewall 2008).

As previously noted, LGBT organizations have not always been in agreement over the demands made on LGBT issues. Recently, one of the major issues of contention has been on whether legalized same-sex relationships should be ‘marriage’ or not. Many of those who supported the principle of a legal recognition of same-sex relationships advocated for a more inclusive definition of marriage (for example, Outrage and Queeryouth), i.e. re-formulate the notion of marriage to include both heterosexual and same-sex couples, rather than the creation of a new definition. Others supported the creation of ‘civil partnerships’ as a separate institution. Stonewall, for example, maintained that “civil partnership [should be] a separate legal structure, designed for same-sex couples, [with] no overlap in any way with marriage” (Stonewall 2004: 2). It was the latter position that was eventually adopted with the 2004 Civil Partnership Act.

²²⁴ In this respect, Wilton (1994) argues that women’s health groups, and feminists in general, have shown little interest or involvement in the fight against AIDS and the stigma attached to it. “Similarly, the extraordinary mushrooming of AIDS service organizations in the voluntary sector has come late to the realization that particular services are needed for women” (Wilton 1994: 7).

Another aspect that emerged in the analysis of previous sections, is the tension, emphasized by some feminists in particular, between the LGBT and the women's movement (Auchmuty 2007; Jeffreys 2003). On this matter, Weeks (2007) claims that in their campaigning and activities, the women's and the gay liberation movements have often proceeded in parallel and not necessarily in 'cooperation'. He thus takes a different position from Stanley and Sue's (1983) earlier claims when he suggests that "same-sex relationships became a vital issue within second-wave feminism. But non-heterosexuality had its own intricate and vital history, and though the lesbian and gay movement was influenced by debates within feminism, it had its own central preoccupations" (2007: 81). Nevertheless, it was the combination of the efforts of both movements that contributed to free:

individuals from the burdens of history, whether of tradition, patriarchy, homophobia or heteronormativity. [...These movements'] longer term legacy lay in the undermining of previous certainties about the nature of sexuality and the fixity of sexual identities. (Weeks 2007: 85)

Appendices United Kingdom

Appendix 1: The New Ethics – Timeline²²⁵

Year	IC ²²⁶ -related legislation	Women movement's events and campaigns	Other relevant events
1790			Mary Wollstonecrafts publishes <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i>
1883		The Co-operative Women's Guild is formed	
1866		The 'Fawcett Society' is formed	
1869			J S Mill publishes <i>The Subjection of women</i>
1886	Repeal of Contagious Diseases Act		
1928			Granting of equal suffrage to women and men
1936		The Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRA) is established to campaign for the legalisation of abortion	

²²⁵ This timeline includes only a small selection of intimate citizenship-related events/legislations covering the years from 1968-2009 and some entries relevant to the preceding period.

²²⁶ IC stands for intimate citizenship.

1948			Empire Windrush arrives in Southampton
1954	The Wolfenden Committee is appointed to consider the law on homosexual offences.		
1958	Wolfenden Report is published, recommending the decriminalization of homosexual acts between men.		Notting Hill riots between white and West Indian people
1961			The contraceptive pill is on sale for the first time in the UK.
1964	The amendment of the Married Women's Property Act entitles a woman to keep half of any savings she has made from the allowance she is given by her husband.		
1967	Following the recommendation made in the Wolfenden report, the Sexual Offences Act comes into force in England and Wales decriminalising homosexual acts between two men over 21 years of age and 'in private.'		

	1967 Abortion Act legalizes abortion under determined circumstances		
1968		Start of London Women's Liberation Workshop	Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speeches.
1969	Divorce Law liberalized	National Joint Action Committee for Women's Equal Rights is formed and organizes a national demonstration for equal pay	Voting age lowered to 18. The Committee for Homosexual Equality (CHE) is formed
1970	Equal Pay Act Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act	First National Women's Liberation Conference. Protest demonstration at Miss World event in London	The London Gay Liberation Front (GLF) is created The First gay demonstration in the UK takes place in London
1971		First major Women's Liberation street march	
1972		Establishment of Women's Aid <i>Spare Rib</i> first issue	School leaving age raised to 16. Arrival of large numbers of Asians expelled from Uganda. The first UK Pride carnival and march

			are held in London
1973	Guardianship Act		Britain joins the EEC
1974		The first national lesbian conference is held in Canterbury.	Free contraception on the NHS The Campaign for Homosexual Law Reform (Northern Ireland) appeals to the European Court of Human Rights to force the UK to extend the 1967 Sexual Offences Act to them.
1975	Equal pay Act into force Employment Protection Act Child Benefit Act the Sex Discrimination Act	English Prostitutes Collective founded National Abortion Campaign founded and demonstration held National Women's Aid federation is set up. English Collective of Prostitutes formed.	M. Thatcher becomes the first woman leader of a major party, the Conservatives. UN International Women's year.
1976	Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act	First Rape crisis centre opened in London	First IVF baby is born. The Notting Hill Carnival ends in riots

			1976 Race Relation Act is passed
1977		First Reclaim the Night demonstrations in Britain. Launch of the YBA wife campaign	Ian Paisley launches the 'Save Ulster From Sodomy' campaign.
1978		Last National Women's Liberation Conference	
1979		'Southall Black Sisters' are founded.	M. Thatcher becomes first woman PM.
1980	Male homosexuality is decriminalised in Scotland.	Women Against Violence Against Women is set up. Southall Black Sisters starts campaigning against virginity testing of Asian immigrant women.	
1981		The Women's Peace Camp is established at Greenham Common 'Don't Do It, Di'- badges amongst feminists	
1982		Women's Reproductive Rights Campaign is formed.	Unemployment reaches historical high.

		<p>Lesbian Custody Project formed within Rights of Women.</p> <p>More than 20,000 women surround the Greenham Common American airbase to protest against the installation of US cruise missiles.</p>	<p>Falklands war.</p> <p>Homosexuality decriminalised in Northern Ireland</p>
1983	The Equal Pay (Amendment) regulation rules that equal pay should be given for work of equal value.		
1984	Divorce is now allowed after one year of separation (previously 3 years).		
1985	Sexual Offences Act criminalizes for the first time clients of prostitutes		Local Government Act abolishes metropolitan authorities.
1986			<p>Conservative government re-elected.</p> <p>First black woman MP elected</p>
1987		Campaign Against Pornography is formed.	
1988	Section 28 of the Local Government Act prohibits the		TUC Equal Rights Department is

	'promotion' of homosexuality by local authorities.		formed.
1989		<p>Campaign Against Pornography and Censorship is formed.</p> <p>Feminists Against Censorship is formed.</p>	
1990	<p>The Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act lowers the legal time limit for termination of pregnancy, and clarifies the circumstances under which abortion could be obtained at a later stage.</p> <p>Independent taxation for women is introduced. For the first time married women are taxed separately from their husbands.</p>		
1993			Stonewall launches the first challenge to the European Court of Human Rights on the age of consent equal for all at 16.
1994	The age of consent for male homosexual sex is reduced from 21 to 18.	Last issue of <i>Spare Rib</i>	

1997	The New Labour Government recognizes same sex partners for immigration purposes.		
2000	Equalization of age of consent. The UK sign the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its attached protocol on trafficking.		
2001	Age of consent is equalised at 16		
2002	The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act makes trafficking of people for prostitution illegal		
2003	Repeal of 1988 Local Government Act (hence, of Section 28). The Sexual Offences Act (2003) provides new legislation against abuse by people who work with children.	<i>Object</i> is formed	
2004	Civil Partnership Act The Asylum and Immigration		

	<p>(Treatment of Claimants) Act further criminalises trafficking for all purposes, including forced labour.</p> <p>The Gender Recognition Act 2004 is passed. For the first time it gives transgender people full legal recognition of change of gender.</p> <p>The Human Tissue Act 2004 regulations on who can be a donor or recipient of bodily organs and tissues are amended.</p> <p>The Domestic Violence Crime and Victims Act 2004 gives new powers for the police and courts to deal with the offenders, whilst strengthening the victim's case when brought to the attention of the criminal justice system.</p>		
2007	<p>The Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007 makes discrimination against lesbians and gay men in the provision of goods and services illegal.</p>		

	The Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 is passed.		
2008	<p>The Government uncovers its plan to follow the Swedish model of criminalizing the purchase of prostitution.</p> <p>The 1990 Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act is amended, with ‘need for parenting’ substituting ‘need for a father’.</p>	Abortion Rights and other pro-choice organizations successfully campaign against the lowering of the abortion time limit.	

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